A

DEFENCE

OF THE

Scots Settlement

At *DARIEN.*

WITH

An ANSWER to the *Spaniſh* MEMORIAL againſt it.

AND

ARGUMENTS to prove that it is the Intereſt of *England* to join with the *Scots*, and protect it.

To which is added,

A DESCRIPTION of the Country, and a particular Account of the *Scots* Colony.

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ERRATA,

PAg. 79. l. 21. instead of *Orba*, read *Uraba*; p. 83. l. 1. the like. P. 83. instead of *Pincarton*, read *Pennicook*.

TO THE

KING'S

Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

SIR,

THE *Intereſt You have in the flouriſhing of Your Antient Kingdom of* Scotland, *whoſe Crown is tranſmitted to You by an Hundred and eleven of Your Anceſtors, without ever having been on the Head of a Foreigner, emboldens the Author to lay the following Sheets at Your Majeſty's Feet.*

The deſign of them is to vindi-

cate the Settlement of the Scots *in* Darien, *and Your Majeſty's Juſtice in protecting them, againſt the oblique Aſperſions which are caſt upon it in the* Spaniſh *Memorial.*

The Soveraignty of the Crown of Scotland *hath always bin held Sacred by our Anceſtors, who never were ſparing of their Blood to defend it either from the Invaſion of Foreigners, or the mean Compliance of ſome few of our Princes that were unworthy to wear it; and therfore were either totally excluded from it, as the Family of* Baliol, *or oblig'd to reaſſert its Right when reſcu'd out of the Hands of their Enemies, as happen'd to our* William I. *and* James I.

Providence having now plac'd it on the Head of Your Majeſty, whoſe Heroic

Heroic Courage is known to all the World, our Nation ſhould be unjuſt to Your Character to expect any thing leſs than that our Crown, which You receiv'd free and independent from Your Anceſtors, ſhould be tranſmitted by You with greater Advantages than ever to Your Succeſſors.

Therefore it is, Great Sir, that a privat Subject of Your antient Kingdom takes the boldneſs to vindicate the Soveraignty and Dignity of Your Crown as King of Scots, *and to put ſuch as are Enemies to it in mind, that when* Edward I. *and* II. *of* England *invaded it, the* Scotiſh *Nation did gallantly defend it, advanced* Robert Bruce *to the Excluſion of* Baliol *the neareſt Heir, and acquainted the Princes of* Chriſtendom *that*

that they did so in defence of their Independency; adding that they would expel Robert Bruce, *if he offer'd to betray their Liberty, and would never subject their Crown to that of* England, *whilst there were* 100 Scots-men *alive.*

This being the fundamental Constitution of our Government, and the Condition on which that Prince and his Successors were admitted to our Crown, they can in no wise be look'd upon as Friends to Your Majesty's Dignity as King of Scots, *who call in question what You enact in the Parliament of that Kingdom, or that offer to traverse it by contrary Proclamations.*

We are Your Majesty's Subjects as well as our Neighbors, and have

an

an equal Right to ſhare Your Protection, which it's hop'd they will at laſt be convinc'd it is their Intereſt to agree to in relation to our American *Settlement.*

Your Majeſty's Paternal Affection to the Kingdom of Scotland *hath diſcover'd it ſelf in many Inſtances; nor is it deſir'd or expected by our Nation, that it ſhould any way interfere with the like Care and Affection, which is owing to our Brethren of* England; *but there is no reaſon that they ſhould enjoy a Freedom of Trade throughout the World, and that we ſhould be denied it.*

Your Majeſty in your Gracious Propoſals of an Union, gave ſufficient Evidence of a Fatherly Concern

for

for both Nations. Therefore as it hath pleased God to make You the Glorious Instrument of our Common Deliverance, that he would also make You the happy Instrument of our inseparable Union; and after a long Reign here, Crown You with Everlasting Glory hereafter, is the sincere and ardent Prayer of,

Your Majesty's Loyal

and

Affectionate Subject,

Philo-Caledon.

A DEFENCE *of the Settlement of the* Scots *on the Iſthmus of* DARIEN *in* America. *With Arguments to prove, That it is the Intereſt of* England *to join with them, and to protect them in that Colony.*

THE Heads propos'd to be inſiſted upon in the following Sheets, are, *The Legality of the* Scots *Eſtabliſhment: The Advantage or Diſadvantage that may redound from it to* England: *Whether the* Scots *without the Aſſiſtance of the* Engliſh *may be able to maintain their footing in* America; *and what may probably be the Conſequences if the* Scots *ſhould be oppos'd therein by the* Engliſh, *and miſcarry in the Undertaking.*

The chief Objections againſt the Legality of their Eſtabliſhment, ariſe from the Memorial delivered in againſt it to the King, by the Ambaſſador Extraordinary of *Spain*, *May* 3. 1699. *O. S.* as follows:

" THE Under-Subſcriber, Ambaſſador " Extraordinary from his Catholick Ma- " jeſty, finds himſelf oblig'd by expreſs Or- " ders, to repreſent to your Majeſty, that the " King his Maſter having receiv'd Information " from different places, and laſt of all from the " Governor of *Havana*, of the Inſult and At- " tempt of ſome *Scots* Ships, equip'd with Men " and other things requiſit, who deſign to ſet- " tle themſelves in his Majeſty's Soveraign De- " mains in *America*, and particularly the Province " of *Darien*. His Majeſty receiv'd thoſe Advices " with very much diſcontent, and looks upon " the ſame as a Token of ſmall Friendſhip, and " as a Rupture of the Alliance betwixt the two " Crowns (which his Majeſty hath obſerved " hitherto, and always obſerves very religiouſ- " ly, and from which ſo many Advantages and " Profits have reſulted both to your Majeſty " and your Subjects) as a Conſequence of which " good Correſpondence, his Majeſty did not " expect ſuch ſudden Inſults and Attempts by " your Majeſty's Subjects, and that too in a " time of Peace, without pretext (or any cauſe) " in the very Heart of his Demains.

" All that the King deſires, is, That this " may be repreſented to your Majeſty, and " that your Majeſty may be acquainted, that " he is very ſenſible of ſuch Hoſtilities and un- " juſt Procedures, againſt which his Majeſty " will take ſuch Meaſures as he thinks conve- " nient. Given at *London*, *May* $\frac{13}{23}$. 1699.

It

It were eaſy to make proper Remarks upon the Weakneſs, Inſolence and Ingratitude of this Memorial, but it is not worth while; all the World knows what the Crown of *Spain* ows to his Majeſty of *Great Britain*; and therefore a more civil Application might reaſonably have been expected to a Prince who hath not only ſav'd the *Netherlands*, but prevented his Catholick Majeſty from being inſulted on his Throne at *Madrid*. But theſe things we paſs over, and come to the chief Point in the Memorial, which is, *That the* Scots *have poſted themſelves in the King of* Spain's *Demains in* America, *contrary to the Alliance betwixt the two Crowns*. If this be prov'd to be falſe, then the Cauſe of the Complaint ceaſes, and his Majeſty of *Great Britain* hath reaſon to demand Satisfaction for the Affront offered thereby to his Juſtice and Soveraignty.

To prove the Falſhood of the Allegation, That the Province of *Darien* is part of the King of *Spain*'s Demains: It is poſitively denied by the *Scots*, who challenge the *Spaniards* to prove their Right to the ſaid Province, either by *Inheritance*, *Marriage*, *Donation*, *Purchaſe*, *Reverſion*, *Surrender*, *Poſſeſſion* or *Conqueſt*; which being the only Titles by which they or any other People can claim a Right to thoſe or any other Dominions, if the *Spaniards* cannot make out their Right by thoſe or any of thoſe, their claim muſt of conſequence be null and void.

It is evident that the *Spaniards* cannot pretend a Title to that Country by Inheritance, Marriage, or the Donation of Prince and People; and as to Conqueſt it would be ridiculous to alledg it, ſince the *Dariens* are in actual poſſeſſion of their Liberty, and were never ſubdued, nor receiv'd any *Spaniſh* Governor or Gariſon amongſt them. Nay, they were ſo far from it, that *Wafer*, *Dampier*, and others that have wrote of that Country, do all agree that they mortally hate the *Spaniards*, were in War with them, and that the *Spaniards* had no Commerce with thoſe *Indians*, nor command over them in all the North ſide of the Iſthmus a little beyond *Porto Bello* *.

Capt. *Sharp* in the Journal of his Expedition publiſhed in Capt. *Hacke*'s Collection of Voyages, gives an account, that in 1680 he landed at *Golden Iſland* with 330 Men, and being join'd by one of the *Darien* Princes, whom they call'd *Emperor*, and another to whom they gave the Title of *King Golden-Cap*, with ſome hundreds of their Men, took *Sancta Maria*, attempted *Panama*, and made prize of ſeveral *Spaniſh* Ships; which is the more remarkable, becauſe Capt. *Sharp* was afterwards tried in *England* for Robbery and Piracy on this very account, but acquitted becauſe of his Commiſſion from thoſe *Darien* Princes: which is a plain Demonſtration that the Government of *England*

* Wafer's *New Voyage and Deſcription of the Iſthmus of* America, p. 11, 65, 149, 150, 151.

land did then look upon *Darien* to be no way ſubject to *Spain*, whatever ſome who are Enemies to the *Scots*, do now ſay againſt the Legality of their Settlement in that Country. This ſame Expedition againſt the *Spaniards* by the aſſiſtance of the *Darien Indians*, is confirm'd by Mr. *Dampier* in his Introduction to his *New Voyage round the World.* And the Bp of *Chiapa*, a Prelate of their own, in his *Relation of the* Spaniſh *Voyages and Cruelties in the* Weſt-Indies, *p.* 217. owns "that the *Spaniards* had no Title "to the *Americans*, as their Subjects, by right "of Inheritance, Purchaſe, or Conqueſt.

We have likewiſe a large Account, and a full Confirmation of the War and perpetual Enmity betwixt the *Dariens* and *Spaniards* in the Hiſtory of the Buccaneers of *America*, *Vol.* 2. *Part* 4. wrote by *Baſil Ringroſe*, who was one of their Company. There he informs us that the *Indians* of *Darien*, and the *Spaniards*, are commonly at War with one another; and that the Buccaneers were invited into that Country, and join'd by the *Darien* Princes, Capt. *Andreas*, Capt. *Antonio*, and the King of *Darien*, who aſſiſted them in the taking of *Sancta Maria*, and their attempt upon *Panama*; and the King whoſe Daughter the *Spaniards* had ſtole away, promiſed to join the Buccaneers with 50000 Men. This is the more remarkable, becauſe thoſe very Princes or their Succeſſors are now in League with the *Scots*, and have joyfully receiv'd them into their Coun-

Country. So that it is the ſtrangeſt Impoſition that can be put upon any Nation, and one of the moſt audacious affronts that ever was put upon ſo Great a Prince as K. *William*, for the *Spaniards* to pretend a Right to *Darien*, and accuſe him of a Breach of the Peace, becauſe a Colony of his Subjects have ſettled themſelves there; when it is ſo well known to the World that the Crown of *Spain* has no manner of Title to that Province.

Then as to any claim by virtue of Poſſeſſion, the *Spaniards* have not the leaſt ground of Plea: All they can alledg on this Head is, that they were once admitted by the conſent of Capt. *Diego*, another of the *Darien* Princes, to work on ſome Golden Mines within 15 Leagues, or thereabouts, of the *Scots* Settlement. But it is plain that this makes nothing for their purpoſe. That Prince admitted them only as Labourers, but not as Proprietors; and when they broke the Conditions on which they were admitted, *viz.* to allow the *Dariens* ſuch and ſuch Shares of the Product, they were expell'd again by force; and ever ſince that time the *Dariens* refuſe to have any further dealings with the *Spaniards*, who made themſelves odious to them by their Treachery and Inſolence: So that Mr. *Wafer* tells us *pag.* 133. they allow a diſtinguiſhing Mark of Honour to him who has kill'd a *Spaniard*: and *pag.* 179. that *Lacenta*, one of the chief of the *Darien* Princes, did in his converſe with him, expreſs his Senſe and

and Reſentment of the havock made by the *Spaniards* in the Weſt of *America*, at their firſt coming thither.

It remains then that the *Spaniards* can lay no other claim to *Darien* but what they plead *from the Pope's general Grant of* America, *its being bounded by their Dominions, and the Treaties with* England, which ſhall be conſider'd in their order.

To urge the Pope's Grant amongſt Proteſtants is ridiculous, and amongſt Papiſts themſelves but precarious: but admitting it were ſufficient to juſtify their Title, it is eaſy to prove that the *Spaniards* have forfeited all the Right that they can claim by virtue of that Grant.

The Church of *Rome* will not publickly own her power to grant a Right of Conqueſt, but in order to propagate the Faith, and not that neither, except the Infidel Prince or People be guilty of a Breach of Treaty. So that the Pope's Grant with thoſe Reſtrictions is ſo far from eſtabliſhing the Title of the *Spaniards*, that it plainly overthrows it.

That the *Indians* were committed to the *Spaniards* by Pope *Alexander* VI. on condition that they ſhould teach them the Chriſtian Religion, is prov'd by *Don Bartholomew de las Caſas* Biſhop of *Chiapa*, in his *Account of the firſt Voyages and Diſcoveries made by the* Spaniards *in* America, *and the Relation of their unparallel'd Cruelties*, p. 195. and there he likewiſe owns, " that by their acquitting themſelves ſo ill of

" that

" that Commiſſion, they ought to make reſti-
" tution of all they have taken from them un-
" der this pretext. And *pag.* 200. he charges them with breach of the Terms preſcrib'd by the Apoſtolical Brief, tho Queen *Iſabella*, to whom it was granted, earneſtly intreated them in her laſt Will to keep exactly to it. *P.* 218. he ſays that the Title of the King of *Spain* to the *Indians*, is founded only on the obligation he had taken upon himſelf to inſtruct them in the true Faith, as appears by the Apoſtolick Brief: which they were ſo far from performing, that inſtead of converting their Souls, they deſtroyed their Bodies; having in thoſe early days, *viz.* in the time of the Emperor *Charles* V. murder'd above 40 Millions of them; and took ſo little care to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian Religion, that they perfectly obſtructed their Converſion, and ſold thoſe very Idols that ſome of the poor People had thrown away with abhorrence, to others of the *Indians*; *ibid.* p. 194. which, together with their other horrid Impieties, created an averſion in thoſe poor Infidels for Heaven it ſelf; according to the known Story of *Hathwey* an *Indian* Prince, *ibid. p.* 21. " who being faſten'd to a Stake by
" the *Spaniards* in order to be burnt, for no
" other Crime but indeavouring to defend him-
" ſelf and his Subjects againſt their Cruelties,
" ask'd a Friar that was diſcourſing to him of
" Heaven, promiſing him eternal Happineſs
" there if he would believe, and threatning
" him

" him with Hell if he did not, whether Hea-
" ven was open to the *Spaniards*; and being an-
" ſwer'd that it was to ſuch of them as were
" good, replied immediatly that he would not
" go thither for fear of meeting ſuch cruel and
" wicked Company as they were, but would
" much rather chuſe to go to Hell, where he
" might be deliver'd from the troubleſom ſight
" of ſuch kind of People. So that their forfei-
ture of all Right or Title to *Darien* by the Pope's Grant, if it were of any validity, is plainly de-
monſtrated.

Their next Plea is, that *Darien* is bounded or incloſed by their Dominions, *viz.* by *Portobello* and *Carthagena*, with their Territories on the North, and *Panama* and *Sancta Maria* on the South. To this it is anſwered, that *Darien* is bounded only by the Sea on both ſides, without ſo much as a *Spaniſh* Fort or Gariſon, from *Nombre de Dios* to the Gulf of *Darien* on the North Sea, or from the River of *Chepo* to the River of *Congo* on the South Sea. The Territories of the *Spaniards* confining on both ends of the *Iſthmus* are not unlimited, but are reſtricted on both ſides by the *Dariens*, who, as has been already ſaid, were never ſubject to *Spain*. Nor is it any new thing in the World for independent Soveraigntys to lie inclos'd within the Dominions of other Princes; to inſtance in no more than *Orange* and *Avignon* in *Europe*; *Ceuta*, *Metilla*, &c. poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards* themſelves in *Africk*, which lie in the very bo-

ſom of *Morocco*, and yet the *Spaniards* don't think their Title to them e're a whit the worſe. The *Dutch* and *Portugueze* have both of them Settlements on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, to which the *Spaniards* pretend a Right. The *French* have Settlements in *Hiſpaniola* and *Guiana*, notwithſtanding the Neighborhood of the *Spaniards*. The *Engliſh* and *French* have both of 'em Plantations in *Newfound-land*. The *Dutch* in time of Peace ſettled on *Long Iſland* in the middle of the *Engliſh* Plantations, yet no War enſued upon it. The *Engliſh* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Bahama* Iſlands, tho the *Spaniſh* Fleet paſſed betwixt them and *Florida*: and the *Engliſh* have ſeveral times ſettled at *Port-Royal* in *Campechy* Bay, to cut Logwood, *&c.* and remov'd and ſettled as they found convenient. K. *Charles* II. in time of Peace granted a Patent to Dr. *Cox* to ſettle a Colony in the Bay of *Mexico*, which was never queſtion'd by the *Spaniards*: and the *French* have now ſince the Concluſion of the laſt Peace, planted a Colony on the River *Miſſiſſipi* in that ſame Bay, againſt which we hear of no Complaints from *Madrid*. So that the Plea of the *Spaniards* from this Topick is perfectly overturn'd by Common Practice, the Law of Nations, and their own Conceſſions in parallel Caſes.

The Next Plea of the *Spaniards* is from the Treatys betwixt them and the Crown of *Great Britain*, of which they alledg the Settlement of the *Scots* at *Darien* to be a Breach: But that

there's no ground for this Allegation, will appear to thoſe that peruſe the ſaid Treatys, *viz.* that of *May* 23. 1667. and that of *July* 1670. wherin there's not the leaſt mention of excluding either Party from enlarging their Dominions in *America*, upon Waſtes, or by conſent of the Natives, in ſuch places as have never yet been poſſeſt by *Spain* or *Great Britain*. So that all that can be infer'd from thoſe Treatys is, that they were a mutual Security for the peaceable poſſeſſion of what each Crown enjoy'd in that Country, and no more; which is ſufficiently confirm'd by the Patent granted to Dr. *Cox*, and the ſettling and removing of the *Engliſh* in *Campechy* Bay, *&c.* without Controul, as before mention'd.

Having thus made it evident that the *Spaniards* have no manner of Title or Right to *Darien*, it is natural in the next place to ſhew that they themſelves are guilty of the Breach of Treaty by proceeding in this Affair as they have done.

By the third Article of the Treaty between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, concluded at *Madrid May* $\frac{13}{23}$. 1667. it is provided, *That if any Injury ſhall be done by either of the ſaid Kings, or by the People or Subjects of either of them, to the People or Subjects of the other, againſt the Articles of that Alliance, or againſt common Right, there ſhall not therefore be given Letters of Repriſal, Marque or Countermarque, by any of the Confederates, until ſuch time as*

Juſtice is follow'd in the ordinary Courſe of Law. Yet the *Spaniards* without any ſuch Procedure, or offering in the leaſt to prove their Title to *Darien*, preſent a virulent and huffing Memorial, at the very firſt charging the King *with want of Friendſhip, and a breach of Alliance, and threatning to take ſuch meaſures as they ſhall think meet:* when their ſickly Monarchy has not yet had time to breath, ſince reſcu'd from the common Danger wherein *Europe* was involv'd, by the Arms of that very Prince whom they treat ſo ungratefully.

But this is not all; for contrary to the expreſs Words of that ſame Treaty, they attack the *Scots* by Sea and Land, who had done them no Injury, but acquainted them that they came thither peaceably, without any hoſtile deſign againſt them or any other People; and were ſo generous as to reject the Motion of Capt. *Andreas*, one of the *Darien* Princes, and their Ally, when he offer'd to make them Maſters of *Panama*, if they would but join him with 500 of their Men.

The *Spaniards* have alſo, contrary to the 10*th* and 11*th* Articles of the Treaty concluded at *Madrid*, *July* $\frac{8}{18}$ 1670. concerning *America*, detain'd the *Scots* and *Engliſh* Priſoners who were forc'd aſhoar at *Carthagena* by Shipwrack, tho all ſuch Practices be expreſly provided againſt by the ſaid Articles: and they have alſo violated the 14*th* Article of that Treaty which forbids Repriſals, except in caſe of denying or unreaſonably

reaſonably delaying Juſtice. From all which it is evident that the King of *Great Britain* has juſt reaſon to demand Satisfaction of the *Spaniards* for attacking his Subjects contrary to Treaty; and that the *Scots* being thus injuriouſly treated, may very lawfully, not only make Repriſals upon the *Spaniards* for themſelves, but join with the King of *Darien* in taking *Sancta Maria*, *Panama*, or any other place belonging to the *Spaniards* in that Country, of which the *Dariens* are Natural Lords, and the *Spaniards* Tyrannical Uſurpers, as is pleaded by the King of *Darien* himſelf; and therefore he invited the *Engliſh* Buccaneers to aſſiſt him to retake it: and by this Capt. *Sawkins* juſtified his Proceedings in a Letter to the Governour of *Panama*, aſſerting that the King of *Darien* was true Lord of *Panama*, and all the Country thereabouts; and that they came to aſſiſt him. *Hiſtory of Buccaneers*, Vol. 2. part 4. p. 32. And we have mentioned before that Capt. *Sharp*, who was accuſed of Piracy, for that ſame Expedition, and ſucceeded *Sawkins* in his Command, was acquitted in *England*, becauſe he had that Prince's Commiſſion.

Having fully prov'd that the *Spaniards* have no Title to *Darien*, it remains to be prov'd that the *Scots* have as good and juſt a Title to their Settlement there, as any People in the World can have; which may eaſily be demonſtrated thus:

They

They were authorized by an Act of Parliament, and the King's Letters Patent, *to plant Colonies in* Asia, Africa, *or* America, *upon Places not inhabited, or any other Place, by consent of the Natives, not possest by any* European *Prince or State.* Being provided with this Authority, than which there cannot be a Greater, or one more duly and honestly limited, they equipp'd their Ships, and landed on the North side of the *Isthmus* of *Darien* in *November* 1698. where the *Spaniards*, as has been fully prov'd, never had any Possession, and no other *European* Prince or State pretends any Claim to it. Being arriv'd there, they fairly obtain'd the consent of the Princes and People of the Country, and particularly of Capt. *Andreas*, who is the chief man in that Tract; and after a solemn Treaty and Alliance deliberatly made, and wrote in *Spanish*, because the said Prince understands that Language, they peaceably enter upon their new Colony, without either Force or Fraud. So that they have religiously kept to the Conditions of the Act and Patent, which is a plain demonstration that they have a just and legal Title to their Settlement, and a Right to the Protection of the Government, against the Attempts of the *Spaniards*, or any other People whatsoever.

The next Topick to be insisted upon, is the Advantage or Disadvantage that may redound to *England* from this Settlement. We shall begin

gin with the Diſadvantage which conſiſts in the ſuppoſed Damage it may do to the Trade of *England*, and that it may, as is pretended, occaſion a Rupture betwixt them and *Spain*. To this we may eaſily reply, that being a diſtinct and independent Nation, we are not oblig'd to conſult their Intereſt, any further than they conſult ours; and that we have as much reaſon to maintain this Colony, becauſe of the Advantage it may bring to our ſelves, as they have to oppoſe it, becauſe of the Diſadvantages that they fancy may ariſe from thence to *England*. But withal we deny that it can be any damage to their Trade, which from that part of the World conſiſts chiefly in Sugar and Tobacco, neither of which are yet to be found in *New Caledonia*. But that which we look upon to be a compleat Anſwer to the Objection is this, That they may be Sharers with us in the Settlement if they pleaſe, and by conſequence Partners in the Profits and Trade, and lay it under ſuch Regulations as may prevent its endamaging the Commerce of *England*.

And whereas it is further objected, That by the great Immunities and freedom from Cuſtoms granted to the *Scots* Company for ſo many years, we ſhall be able to underſel the *Engliſh* Company, foreſtal their Markets, and leſſen his Majeſty's Cuſtoms; we anſwer, that this Objection is in a great meaſure obviated, ſince we do not now pretend to ſet up an *Eaſt-India* Trade; but admitting it were true, it will be

to

to the general Advantage of the *Engliſh* Nation, ſince the Buyers are always more than the Sellers. It muſt certainly be better for the Kingdom in general, that every one who has occaſion for Muſlin or *Indian* Silks, *&c.* ſhould ſave ſo many Shillings *per* Yard or Piece in their pockets, than that ſome two or three Merchants ſhould once in an Age get Mony enough to make a Daughter or two a Counteſs or Dutcheſs. Nor can it be denied but it's better for *England*, that Houſekeepers in general ſhould ſave that Mony to buy Proviſions for their Families, which conſumes our own Product, than that a dozen of Merchants ſhould be enabled by the extravagant Prices of thoſe Commodities to keep their Coaches. Add to this, that the *Engliſh* if they pleaſe by joining with the *Scots* may have an equal Share of all thoſe Immunities; and if there ſhould be for ſome time a leſſening of the King's Cuſtoms, of which there is at preſent no manner of proſpect, it will be ſufficiently made up in time to come by a large addition, if that Colony proſpers; ſo that the King's Bounty in that reſpect is but like the beſtowing of charge to improve barren or waſte Ground, which will return with treble Intereſt to him or his Heirs.

There's another Objection made againſt the *Scots* Company, that by their Conſtitution ſuch Ships as belong to them muſt break Bulk no where but in *Scotland*, which will diminiſh the number of *Engliſh* Ships and Seamen, and make

make *Scotland* the only Free Port of all thoſe Commodities. To which it's replied, That tho our own Ships are obliged to break Bulk no where but at home, they don't lay the ſame Obligation upon others, but, allowing them a free Trade to *Darien*, they may carry their Goods where they pleaſe; or upon fair Propoſals, there's no doubt but the Parliament of *Scotland* will give the *Engliſh* all poſſible Liberty as to that matter.

Then as to the hazard of a Rupture with *Spain*, we reply, That the *Spaniards* are in no condition to break with *England*, when they are not able to maintain themſelves againſt the Inſults of the *French* by Sea and Land: and the only way to ſecure them in the *Britiſh* Intereſt is to have a powerful Colony in *Darien*, which lying in the very Centre of their *American* Dominions, and within reach of their Silver and Gold Mines, will be an effectual Curb upon them, and not only prevent their own Hoſtilities, but their joining at any time with our Enemies; or if they do, being Maſters of their Money, we ſhall ſpeedily cut the ſinews of their War.

In the next place we urge that it will be very much for the Intereſt and Advantage of *England* to incourage and ſupport us in this Settlement.

1. Becauſe by this means the *Scots* will increaſe their Shipping, and come in time to have a Naval Force, capable of aſſiſting the *Engliſh*

in the common defence of the Iſland, in maintaining the Soveraignty of the Seas, and convoying their Merchantmen in time of War; the neceſſity of which is obvious enough, ſince they and the *Dutch* both have ſcarce been able to ſecure their Trade, maintain the Dominion of the Seas, and defend themſelves from the Invaſions of the *French* during the laſt War. Nor can the *Engliſh* always promiſe to themſelves the Amity of the *Dutch*, who are their Rivals in Trade, and differ far enough from them both in Temper and Intereſt, there's nothing to cement them but the Life of our preſent Soveraign: Whereas the *Scots* being united with the *Engliſh* under the ſame Government, and inhabiting the ſame Iſland, muſt of neceſſity have the ſame Intereſt as to Trade, and to defend the Country againſt all Foreign Invaders, as they conſtantly did in former times, againſt *Romans*, *Danes*, *Saxons*, and *Normans*, notwithſtanding their living then under a ſeparate Prince, and their frequent Wars with *England*. Nor is that brave reſiſtance which a few of them made to the *Dutch* at *Chattam* to be forgotten, which did in a great meaſure repair the Honour of *England*, and make amends for the Ignominy and Diſgrace which that Attempt put upon the *Engliſh* Nation.

2. As *Scotland* increaſes in Shipping, they will increaſe in Wealth, and by conſequence be able to bear a greater ſhare of the Burden of any Foreign War, which will ſave Men and

and Mony to *England*, and lighten their Taxes.

3. The Succeſs of the *Scots* in their *American* Colony, will be an additional Strength to the *Engliſh* Plantations in the *Weſt Indies*, as well as an Advancement of their Trade, by conſuming their Product, and giving them theirs in exchange.

4. The Succeſs of the *Scots* at *Darien* will be of great advantage to *England*; for the more Mony the *Scots* acquire by their Trade, the more they will ſpend in *England*, which being the Seat of the Government, muſt frequently be viſited by their Nobility and Gentry, who generally furniſh themſelves in *England* with their beſt Apparel, Houſehold-furniture, Coaches and Horſes, *&c.* beſides the Mony that the young Noblemen and Gentlemen ſpend in their Paſſage through that Nation, when they go ano come from their Travels. Theſe things occaſion their laying out vaſt Sums of Mony annually in the City of *London*, which being the Seat of the Government, will as certainly draw Mony from *Scotland*, as the Sun draws Vapours after it.

5. The Succeſs of the *Scots* in their foreign Plantation, will not only eaſe *England* of great numbers of their Pedlars, ſo frequently complain'd of in Parliament by Country Corporations and Shopkeepers, but it will occaſion the return home, and prevent the going out of vaſt numbers of their Youth, who follow the ſame

ſort of Imployment, or betake themſelves to the Sword in *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Muſcovy*, *Germany*, *Holland* and *France*; by which means the Government of *Great Britain* may furniſh their Fleets and Armies at a much cheaper and eaſier rate than formerly, and with as good Mariners and Soldiers as any in the World.

6. The *Engliſh* by joining with the *Scots* and ſupporting their Colony at *Darien*, may have their Plate brought home in their own Bottoms, and from their own Mines, with which we are aſſured that Country abounds, without being obliged to touch at *Cadiz* or any foreign Port, being liable to the vexatious Indultos of foreign Princes, or in ſuch hazard of being intercepted as they many times were during the late War.

7. The *Engliſh* may by joining with the *Scots* render themſelves more capable than ever of keeping the Ballance of *Europe* in their hands; a Truſt which Nature and Providence ſeems to have aſſign'd 'em, ſince their Situation and Naval Force not only makes it proper for them, but they have had an opportunity put into their hands in little above the Revolution of one Century, of twice breaking the Chains of *Europe* when threatned with Slavery; firſt by the *Spaniards*, and then by the *French*. This is ſo much the more evident, that by being poſſeſs'd of *Darien* they will be able either to prevent the uniting the *Spaniſh* and *French* Monarchies; or if not ſo, to render that Union ſo much the leſs dangerous, when it will be in their power to ſeize their

their Treaſure and Dominions in the *Indies*, without which that bulky Monarchy muſt fall by its own weight. This is likewiſe of ſo much the greater importance, that it may very probably either prevent a religious War, towards which the Papiſts diſcover ſo much inclination, or at leaſt bring it to a ſpeedier Concluſion: for we have as good reaſon to look upon the *Spaniſh* Mines in the *Weſt-Indies* to be Antichriſt's Pouch, by which he maintains his War againſt the Church, as the old *Taborites* had to call the Silver Mines in *Bohemia* by that Name. It is certainly the ſureſt Method of deſtroying Antichriſt, to ſeize his Purſe; for if he once be depriv'd of *Judas*'s Bag, he will quickly drop *St. Peter*'s Keys. It's by the Charms of her Gold that the *Babyloniſh* Whore hath made the whole World to wonder after her, and the Kings of the Earth to be drunk with the Cup of her Fornication.

8. By this means the *Engliſh* may be better able to prevent the ruin of their Trade in the *Mediterranean* and *Weſt-Indies*, if the *French* ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the Kingdom of *Spain*: and they will likewiſe be the better able to prevent their poſſeſſing themſelves of the *Netherlands*; which if once they ſhould do, and get Ports there capable of holding a Fleet, they would alſo ruin their *Eaſtland* Trade, and put a period to the Liberties of *Great Britain*.

9. It will effectually unite the *Scots* to *England* by an inſeparable Tie, if the *Engliſh* join

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us in this Undertaking: Their Anceſtors would have gladly purchaſed this Union at a much dearer rate, but were always outbid by *France*: and the want of that Union made the *Engliſh* not only an eaſy Prey to their ſucceſſive Conquerors, but loſt them all the large Provinces that they enjoy'd beyond Sea, which were their natural Barriers, gave them a free Acceſs to the Continent, and made the *Engliſh* Name ſo glorious in the days of their Anceſtors.

10. It will be of general advantage to the Proteſtant Intereſt, and contribute to the advancement of pure Chriſtianity, without any of the *Romiſh* Sophiſtications: which certainly ought to weigh much with all true Proteſtants; and ſo much the more, that the Pope and the Conclave of *Rome* have eſpouſed the Quarrel of the *Spaniards* in this Affair as a Cauſe of Religion. Doubtleſs the poor *Americans* will be more inclinable to imbrace Chriſtianity, when they find the difference of the Morals and Doctrine betwixt Proteſtants and Papiſts, and ſee that the former treat them with Humanity, and ſeek their Welfare both in Body and Soul; whereas the *Spaniards* have render'd themſelves, and the Religion they profeſs, odious, by the inhuman Cruelties and brutiſh Luſts which they have exercis'd upon ſo many Millions of the Natives. This is ſo far from being a Calumny, that an unexceptionable Author of their own, *Don Bartholomew de las Caſas* Biſhop of *Chiapa*, formerly mention'd, who was an Eye-witneſs

witneſs of their Cruelties, gives an account that they had in his time deſtroyed above 40 Millions of the poor *Indians*; tho they receiv'd them with the greateſt kindneſs imaginable, were ready to do 'em all the friendly Offices that one man could deſire of another, and teſtified their great Inclination to have embrac'd the Chriſtian Religion. But the *Spaniards* aim'd at the Deſtruction, and not at the Converſion of the *Indians*; and are avowedly charg'd with it by the ſaid Biſhop, who in many places of his Book declares, that after they had ſent for the Chiefs of the Countries to meet them in an amicable manner, which the poor harmleſs Creatures did without ſuſpicion of any Fraud, theſe mercileſs Tyrants murder'd them by wholeſale, on purpoſe to make themſelves terrible to them. This was a Practice ſo inconſiſtent with Humanity, that all the People of the World ought to have reſented it; as having much more reaſon to declare the *Spaniards* to be Enemies to Mankind, than ever the *Roman* Senat had to declare *Nero* to be ſuch.

But this ſort of Treatment, compar'd with what they made others to ſuffer, may well be call'd Mercy: for tho it was Death, the *Indians* were hereby quickly deliver'd from their Miſery; whereas they put multitudes of others to lingring Deaths, that they might feel themſelves die gradually: and yet this is not ſo intolerable neither as the Condition of thoſe poor People that had the misfortune to ſurvive that Cruelty;

Cruelty; for the whole time of their Lives under that miſerable Servitude, is but Death prolong'd, or making his attacks upon 'em by intolerable Labor, and continual Hunger, the moſt inſupportable of all Plagues; thoſe poor Creatures that toil in the Mines, and are imploy'd in Pearl-fiſhing, *&c.* having no more Suſtenance allow'd them, and that too of the coarſeſt ſort, than is juſt enough to keep Soul and Body together, in order to prolong their Miſery. Then let any man, who has but the leaſt remains of Humanity left him, judg whether the *Scots* could be criminal, if they ſhould have actually landed upon a *Spaniſh* Settlement, and have ſeiz'd the ſame, in order to deliver their Brethren the Sons of *Adam*, from ſuch helliſh Servitude and Oppreſſion as the above mention'd Biſhop deſcribes; and if no man that has any bowels of Compaſſion within him can ſay they could, what ſhadow of reaſon is there to blame the *Scots* for erecting a Colony where the *Spaniards* never had any footing?

The next thing to be conſider'd is, whether the *Scots* without the aſſiſtance of *England*, may probably maintain their footing there, which there's no doubt may very well be determin'd in the affirmative.

1. Becauſe the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* being more zealous for it, and unanimous in it than they have been in any other thing for forty or fifty years paſt, it is not to be doubted, but

but they will uſe their utmoſt Efforts to ſupport themſelves in it by their own Strength; or if that will not do, by making Alliances with other Nations that are able to aſſiſt them with a Naval Force.

2. If they meet with no other Oppoſition but what the *Spaniards* are able to make to them, it will be eaſy for the Nobility, and Gentry, and Royal Burroughs of *Scotland*, to raiſe Money upon their Lands, *&c.* to increaſe their Stock for the *American* Trade, and buy Ships of Force to protect it: Nay, without that it's but giving Commiſſion to the Buccaneers to become an over-match for the *Spaniards*.

3. Suppoſing the *French* ſhould offer to join with the *Spaniards*, and aſſiſt them to drive the *Scots* from *Darien*, as ſome ſay they have already proffered; we are not to imagine that the *Spaniards* will accept their Proffers in this caſe, when they refuſed them as to the driving the *Moors* from before *Ceuta*. The Reaſons are obvious: They declin'd the accepting their Proffers as to *Ceuta*, becauſe they would not thereby give the *French* an opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of any of their Towns in *Africa*, as it is but too common for foreign Auxiliarys to do in ſuch caſes. Then certainly they have much greater reaſon to refuſe their Proffers as to *Darien*, *America* being of infinitly more value to them than ſome *African* Towns: and if once the *French* ſhould get footing there, it would be in vain for the *Spaniſh* Grandees any

further to diſpute the Succeſſion of *France* to their Crown; for they would immediately ſeize upon their Mines and Treaſures in the *Weſt Indies*, without which the *Spaniſh* Monarchy is not able to ſupport it ſelf.

Or ſuppoſing the King of *Spain* ſhould live for many years, and by conſequence keep the *French* out of poſſeſſion; yet having once got footing at *Darien*, which they will certainly do, if the *Scots* be expell'd by their aſſiſtance, the *Spaniards* will quickly be convinc'd to their Coſt, that they are more dangerous Neighbours than the *Scots*; not only becauſe of their greater Power to do them more miſchief, but becauſe of their incroaching Temper, which all *Europe* is ſenſible of; and being of the ſame Religion with the *Spaniards*, and having of late years ſet up for the Champions of Popery, they will by the Influence of the Clergy, bring all the *Spaniſh* Settlements of *America* to a dependence upon them, and a love for them as the great Protectors of the Catholick Faith; which will at once deſtroy the Intereſt of *Spain* in *America*.

This will appear to be no vain Speculation, to thoſe that conſider the Temper of the Popiſh Clergy, and the Inſolence of the *Spaniſh* Inquiſitors, who ſo daringly reflected upon the late Alliance of *Spain* with Proteſtant Princes and States, tho abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve that Nation from being ſwallowed up by *France*.

Whereas the *Scots* being zealous Proteſtants, and

and for that very reaſon hateful to the Popiſh Clergy and Laity, they are under a moral Impoſſibility of having ſo much Influence to withdraw the *American* Settlements from the Obedience of *Spain*: and beſides, being under an obligation by the principles of their Religion, and their fundamental Conſtitution, not to invade the Property of another, the *Spaniards* have no cauſe to fear any thing from them, provided they forbear Hoſtilities on their part; but on the contrary may find them true and faithful Allies, and uſeful to aſſiſt them in the defence of their Country, if attack'd by the *French* as in the late War: it being the intereſt of the *Scots* as well as of the *Spaniards*, to prevent the acceſſion of the Crown of *Spain* to that of *France*.

Theſe things, together with the known Endeavours of the *French* to procure an Intereſt amongſt the Natives of that Country, and eſpecially with *Don Pedro* and *Corbet*, in order to a Settlement, make it evident enough that it is the Intereſt of *Spain* the *Scots* ſhould rather have it than the *French*, who have already been tampering with the *Spaniards* as well as with the *Indians*, and doubt not to have a large ſhare of *America* whenever the King of *Spain* dies.

But admitting that the *Spaniards* ſhould ſo far miſtake their Intereſt, as to accept of the Proffers of the *French* to expel the *Scots*, it is not impoſſible for the latter to find other Allies than the *Engliſh* to aſſiſt them with a naval Force to maintain their Poſſeſſion.

The *Dutch* are known to be a People that ſeldom or never miſtake their Intereſt: They are ſenſible how uſeful the Alliance of *Scotland* may be to them, both in regard of their Liberty to fiſh in our Seas without controul, and of being a Curb upon *England*, in caſe the old *Roman* Maxim of *delenda eſt Carthago*, ſhould come any more to be applied by the *Engliſh* to that Republick, as in the Reign of K. *Charles* II. They are likewiſe ſenſible of the advantage it would be to their Trade to be Partners with the *Scots* at *Darien*; and how effectual it may be to diſable the *French* to purſue their Claim to *Spain*, and by conſequence to revive the old Title of that Crown upon their own ſeven, as well as to ſwallow up the other ten Provinces. Theſe things, together with a long continu'd Amity and Trade betwixt *Scotland* and *Holland*, and their Union in Religion and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, are ſufficient to evince that the *Dutch* would become our Partners in *America* with little Courtſhip. That they are able to aſſiſt us in that caſe with a Naval Force ſufficient, is beyond contradiction; and that they would ſoon be convinc'd it is their Intereſt to do it, to prevent that monſtrous Increaſe of the *French* Monarchy, is obvious enough from the part they acted in the late War.

But admitting that none of thoſe Conſiderations ſhould prevail with the *Dutch*, and that they ſhould likewiſe abandon us; it is not impoſſible for us to obtain an Alliance and Naval

Force from the Northern Crowns: It's well enough known that thoſe Kingdoms abound with Men and Shipping, and that they would be glad with all their hearts to make an Exchange of theſe for the Gold and Silver of *America*, which they might eaſily carry from Town to Town, and from Market to Market, without the trouble of a Wheel-barrow, as they are now obliged to do with their Copper. From all which it is evident enough that it is not impoſſible for the *Scots* to maintain themſelves in *Darien* without the Aſſiſtance of *England*.

The next thing to be diſcours'd of is, what the conſequences may probably be, if the *Engliſh* ſhould oppoſe us in this Settlement.

We could heartily wiſh there had never been any ground for this ſuggeſtion, and that the Oppoſition we have met with from *England* had been leſs National than that which we had from both their Houſes of Parliament, after the paſſing an Act for an *African* Company, *&c.* in ours: and it were to be wiſh'd that ſo many of the *Engliſh* had not given us ſuch proofs of an alienated mind and averſion to our Welfare, as they have done ſince by their Reſident at *Hamborough*, and their late Proclamations in their *Weſt India* Plantations: and we could have wiſh'd above all that his Majeſty of *England* had not in the leaſt concurr'd, or giv'n his Countenance to that Oppoſition; for as King of *Scots* it is plain he could not do it: he hath confirm'd

firm'd what we have done by the Touch of his Scepter, which no private Order or Inſtructions can revoke. And we could wiſh that his *Engliſh* Counſellors, who put him upon thoſe things, would remember that *Strafford* and *Laud* loſt their heads for giving K. *Charles* I. that fatal Advice of oppreſſing and oppoſing the *Scots*.

We did verily think that the ſuffering of our Crown to be united with that of *England* in the Perſon of K. *James* their Firſt, and our Sixth; our ſeaſonable coming to the reſcue of their expiring Liberties in the Reign of K. *Charles* I. our being ſo inſtrumental to reſcue them from Anarchy and Confuſion, by the Reſtoration of K. *Charles* II. and above all, our generous and frank Concurrence with them in the late happy Revolution, and Advancement of K. *William* III. We did verily think that all theſe things deſerv'd a better Treatment; and to evince that they did, we ſhall beg leave to inſiſt a little upon the firſt and laſt.

The *Engliſh* have no cauſe to think that we were ignorant of the Reaſon why their politick *Henry* VII. choſe rather to match his eldeſt Daughter with the King of *Scots*, than with the King of *France*, becauſe he foreſaw that if the King of *Scots* ſhould by that means come to the Crown of *England*, he would remove the Seat of his Government thither, which would add to the Grandeur and Riches of *England*: Whereas if the King of *France* did by that means fall Heir to the *Engliſh* Crown, he would

would certainly draw the Court of *England* to *Paris*. This the *Scots* were ſo far from being ignorant of, that many of the Nobility and Gentry did expreſs their diſlike of the Union of the Crowns, as well knowing that it would reduce our Kingdom into a Subjection and Dependance upon *England*, and drain us of what Subſtance we had; and therefore ſome of them expreſs'd themſelves on that occaſion, that *Scotland* was never conquer'd till then: yet ſuch was our Zeal for the common Welfare of the Iſland, the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and of *Europe* in general, which were then almoſt in as much danger by *Spain*, as they have been ſince by *France*, that we quietly and freely parted with our King, and ſuffer'd him to accept the *Engliſh* Crown, rather than that Nation ſhould be involv'd in War and Confuſion, and the Proteſtant Religion indanger'd by another Succeſſor, as it muſt neceſſarily have bin, had the Infanta of *Spain*, whoſe Title was then promoted by the Popiſh Intereſt, ſucceeded. And all the reward we had for this Condeſcenſion and Kindneſs, was a contemptuous and diſdainful refuſal, on the part of *England*, of an Union of the Nations when propoſed, tho the ſame would viſibly have tended to the benefit of the whole Iſland, the general advantage of *Europe*, and the ſecurity and increaſe of the Proteſtant Intereſt. And our King was ſo little thankful on his part, that tho he promis'd ſolemnly in the Great Church of *Edinburgh* before his departure,

parture, that he would viſit his Antient Kingdom once in three years, he never ſaw it after but once, and that not till 14 years after. And by the influence of that ſame Faction in *England*, who are ſtill our enemies, he made Innovations both in Church and State, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and his own ſolemn Oath; which laid the foundation of all thoſe Diſaſters that ended in the fatal exit of his Son, and the ſubverſion of the Government of both Nations. Theſe were the firſt Advantages we had by the Union of the Crowns.

His Son King *Charles* I. had ſcarce aſcended the Throne, when we had new Proofs of the Diſadvantages we labour'd under by that Union; for he by the Advice of ſome Enemies to our Nation, did in an imperious and arbitrary manner ſend for our Crown, tho the only Monument almoſt left us of our Independency and Freedom; but was generouſly anſwer'd by him that had it in keeping, That if he would come and be Crown'd in *Scotland*, he ſhould have all the Honour done him that ever was to his Anceſtors; but if he did not think it worth his while, they might perhaps be inclin'd to make choice of another Soveraign, or to that effect; as recorded in the Continuation of Sir *Richard Baker*'s Hiſtory. Another Diſadvantage we had by that Union of the Crown, was this, That that unfortunate Prince being inſpir'd with an averſion to the Conſtitution of our Country, by his Education in the Court of *England*,

land, he made an unnatural War upon us to bring us to a Conformity with *England* in Church-Matters. We ſhall not here offer to debate which of the Churches was beſt conſtituted, or moſt agreable to the Scripture-Pattern: It ſuffices for our Argument, that we were injur'd in having a foreign Model offered to be obtruded upon us, which was the Conſequence of the Union of the Crowns, and of having our King educated in another Nation; but that was not all, another miſchievous effect of the Union was this, that whatever King *Charles* had deſerv'd at our hands, yet out of natural Affection, Conſcience and Honour, we were oblig'd to do what we could to prevent his illegal Trial and Death, and to defend his Son's Title, which threw us into Convulſions at home, occaſion'd us the loſs of ſeveral Armies, and expos'd our Nation afterwards to ruin and devaſtation by our implacable Enemy the Uſurper, which together with the ungrateful Retributions made us by the Government after the Reſtoration, were enough to have wearied any Nation under Heav'n, but our ſelves, of the Union of the Crowns.

Yet ſuch was our Zeal for the Proteſtant Intereſt, the Welfare of the Iſland, and the Liberty of *Europe*, that tho we had a fair opportunity of providing otherwiſe for our ſecurity and the Advancement of our Trade, and of forming our ſelves into a Commonwealth, or

of bringing *England* to our own terms, yet we frankly and generouſly concurr'd with them to ſettle our Government on the ſame Perſons, and in the ſame manner as they did theirs, and all the Reward we had from them is, that an Union of the Nations, tho twice propos'd by his Majeſty in Parliament, hath been contemptouſly rejected, our King queſtioned by a Parliament of *England* for an Act of his Parliament in *Scotland*, which is a manifeſt Impeachment of our Soveraingty; a Compliance with which excluded *Baliol* and his Heirs for ever from our Crown; and to this they have added an oppoſition to our receiving foreign Subſcriptions at *Hamburgh* and elſewhere, refus'd us a Supply of Corn for our Mony, to relieve us in our Diſtreſs; and diſcourag'd our Settlement at *Darien*, by forbidding their Subjects to trade with us there. If theſe continued Slights and Injuries be not enough to make us weary of the Union of the Crowns, let any Man judg.

To diſcover a little of the unreaſonableneſs of this ſort of Treatment, we dare appeal to the calm thoughts of ſuch of our Neighbours in *England*, as prefer the Intereſt of the Publick to private Animoſities, and fooliſh ill-grounded Piques, either as to Church or State; whether at the time of the Revolution, and before we declar'd our ſelves, they would not have been willing to have aſſur'd themſelves of our Friendſhip, at the rate of uniting with us as one Nation?

on? Had we but demurr'd upon forfeiting the late K. *James*, or made but a Proffer of renewing our antient League with *France*, and joining with that Crown to keep that Prince upon the Throne of *Great Britain*; they know we might have made what Terms we pleas'd with the late King and *Louis* XIV. on that condition, and might have been reſtor'd to all the Honours and Privileges that our Anceſtors enjoy'd in *France*, which were almoſt equal to thoſe of the Natives; and yet that gallant Nation thought it no diſparagement to them, however we be deſpis'd and undervalued now by a certain Party in *England*.

Had we but ſeem'd to have made ſuch Overtures, the *Engliſh* muſt needs have foreſeen that the natural Conſequences of ſuch a Deſign, if it had taken effect, muſt have been theſe, *viz.* the late King's Adherents in *England* would certainly have join'd us, and our Nation would have afforded them a ſafe retreat, in caſe of any Diſaſter, till they could have concerted Matters to the beſt advantage; the late King would not have yielded himſelf ſuch an eaſy Conqueſt, nor disbanded his Army in ſuch a manner as he did; *Ireland* had certainly never revolted, ſince every one knows that the Revolution was begun, and in a great meaſure perfected there by the *Scots* of the North; ſo that *England* muſt have become the Theatre of War, bin liable to an Invaſion from *France* on all occaſions, would only have ſtrengthened her Fet-

ters by ſtruggling with them, and expos'd all the Patriots of her Religion and Liberty to Butchery and Deſtruction.

Theſe muſt certainly have been the Conſequences of our adhering to the late King, and the *Engliſh* would have thought they had had a very good Bargain if they could have bought us off in that caſe with uniting both the Kingdoms into one, and granting us a joint Trade to their own Plantations; wheras now they will not allow us to ſettle a foreign Colony of our own, and treat us as Foreigners in theirs.

To ſhew that this is not a mere Conjecture, that has no other ground but a Viſion of the Brain, they may be pleas'd to conſider the honorable Privileges granted us by their Anceſtors, and ſome of the greateſt Princes that ever ſway-ed their Scepter, *viz.* King *Edward* and *William* the Conqueror, who by the Conſent of the States in Parliament aſſembled, enacted, *That the* Scots *ſhould be accounted Denizons of* England, *and enjoy the ſame Privileges with themſelves, becauſe of their frequent Intermarriages with the* Engliſh, *and that they did ever ſtand ſtoutly as one Man with them for the common Utility of the Crown and Kingdom, againſt the* Danes *and* Norwegians, *fought it moſt valiantly and unanimouſly againſt the common Enemy, and bore the burden of moſt fierce Wars in the Kingdom. This they will find in a Book call'd,* Archaionomia, *tranſlated from the* Saxon *by* William Lambard, *and printed at* London *by* John Day *in* 1568.

It

It muſt be granted, that the Reaſons of ſuch a grateful Retribution are redoubled now: Intermarriages betwixt the two Nations are more frequent than ever; the Union of the Kingdoms under one Crown for almoſt 100 years; the generous Concurrence of the *Scots* in the laſt Revolution; their loſs of ſo many gallant Officers and brave Soldiers in the common Cauſe during the late War, and the preſervation of *Ireland*, which hath been twice owing to our Countrymen, might reaſonably entitle us to the ſame Privileges now, that our Anceſtors were formerly allow'd by King *Edward*, and *William* the Conqueror. We need not inſiſt on another ſort of Obligation, that we have put upon *England* twice within this 60 years, *viz.* the delivering them from their Oppreſſions in the time of K. *Charles* I. the Anarchy of the Rump, and ſeveral Models of Armys and Juntos, by encouraging General *Monk*'s Undertaking; for it cannot be denied that we had the Ballance of *Europe* in our hands at the time of the laſt Revolution, and that we turn'd the Scale to the advantage of *England* in particular and of *Europe* in general, which muſt be allow'd to be as great a Service, as that which was ſo thankfully rewarded by *Edward*, and *William* the Conqueror; whence it is evident that thoſe *Engliſhmen*, who at preſent oppoſe our Settlement in *America*, don't inherit the gratitude of their Anceſtors, when they not only will not allow us to trade in conjunction with them, but withſtand

ſtand our doing any thing that may advance a Trade by our ſelves.

If they object that what we did in all thoſe caſes was no more than our duty, and what we ow'd to our own Preſervation as well as to theirs: it is eaſy to reply, that admitting it to be ſo, yet by the Laws of God and Men People are incourag'd to perform their Duties by Rewards; and their Anceſtors were ſo ſenſible of this, that tho they knew we were equally concern'd to defend the Iſland againſt foreign Invaders as well as they, yet they thought themſelves oblig'd in Policy as well as Gratitude, to reward us; which they not only did by that Honorary *Premium* of allowing us to be Deniſons of *England*, as above-mention'd, but ſometimes gave to us, and at other times confirm'd to us the three Northern Counties of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Cumberland*, to be held in Fee of the Crown of *England*.

It is likewiſe very well known with how much Honour the Parliament of *England* treated us, when they courted our Aſſiſtance againſt K. *Charles* I. and what large Promiſes that Prince made us, if we would have but ſtood Neuter; which tho we had reaſon to think many of thoſe that oppoſed him had no great kindneſs neither for our Civil nor Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, yet the ſenſe that we had of the common Danger that our Religion and Liberties were in at that time, made us proof againſt all thoſe Tentations; ſo that after all Endea-

Endeavours for a Reconciliation betwixt the King and the Parliament of *England* prov'd unſucceſsful, we ſent in an Army, which caſt the Ballance on the ſide of the latter; who before that time were reduc'd low enough by the King's Army, as is very well known to ſuch as are acquainted with the Hiſtory of thoſe times, and is own'd by my Lord *Hollis* in his Memoirs lately publiſh'd.

But to return to the laſt Revolution: Tho we muſt own that we owe our Deliverance to his preſent Majeſty, and were oblig'd in Conſcience and Honour to concur with him; yet who could have blam'd us to have ſtood upon Terms before we had fallen in with *England?* eſpecially conſidering how ungratefully (nay villanouſly) we were treated by *Cromwel* and his Party, after we had ſav'd them and the Parliament of *England* from the Scorpions that the Cavaliers had prepar'd to chaſtiſe them with; as is own'd by the ſaid Lord *Hollis*. Nor could we have been any way culpable, if we had ſtood upon higher and ſurer Terms with his Majeſty, conſidering how unthankfully we were abus'd and enſlav'd by our late Kings, for whom we had acted and ſuffered ſo much. And tho we muſt own that no leſs Preſent than that of our Crown was ſufficient to teſtify our Gratitude for what the Prince of *Orange* had done for us, yet we were under no neceſſity of gratifying him in that manner, ſince our Deliverance was effected before hand, and that he himſelf

ſelf in his Declaration expreſs'd it to be no part of his deſign to come for the Crown; ſo that our Reward was as frank and generous as his Service.

Then as to *England*, we were under no manner of obligation to continue the Union with them: We might have inſiſted upon having our King obliged to reſide as much amongſt us as amongſt them: that we ſhould be govern'd without any conſideration or reſpect to their Intereſt, any further than it fell in with our own. We might have inſiſted upon an Act that we ſhould not be oblig'd to attend his Majeſty at any time at the Court of *England*, about our Affairs; but that he ſhould either attend upon our Adminiſtration in perſon *pro re nata*, as he does now upon the Affairs of *Holland*, or lay down Methods to have his Pleaſure ſignified to us at home in ſuch caſes as it was requir'd; which would ſave a vaſt deal of Money annually to the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Then as to the Succeſſion, we were under no neceſſity of ſettling it in the ſame manner as they did in *England*: for ſince they had made a Breach in the Line, they could not handſomly have blam'd us to have made an improvement of it, and either to have limited the Reverſion after his preſent Majeſty's Death, or otherwiſe as we ſhould have thought beſt, for the ſecurity of our Civil and Religious Liberties; or we might have ſettled it upon the Prince of *Orange* and his Iſſue by any other Wife, there being cauſe enough

enough then to conceive that he was never like to have any by his late excellent Princeſs. Had we taken any of theſe Methods, it muſt be own'd that *England* would have been conſiderably weakned, and leſſen'd in the Eſteem of the World by it; that we ſhould have thereby had an opportunity of making ſuch foreign Alliances with *France*, as formerly, or with any other Nation, as would have made *England* uneaſy, and perhaps unſafe on occaſion; and therefore it muſt be reckon'd highly impolitick, as well as ungrateful, in our Neighbours to treat us continually at ſuch a rate, as if they had a mind to bring us under ſubjection, ſince we have ſo many open Doors to get out at.

They muſt not think that we have ſo far degenerated from the Courage and Honour of our Anceſtors, as tamely to ſubmit to become their Vaſſals, when for 2000 years we have maintain'd our Freedom; and therefore it is not their Intereſt to oppreſs us too much. If they conſult their Hiſtories, they will find that we always broke their Yoke at long-run, if at any time we were brought under it by Force or Fraud. The beſt way to aſſure themſelves of us is to treat us in a friendly manner: Tho we be not ſo great and powerful as they, it is not impoſſible for us to find ſuch Allies as may enable us to defend our ſelves now as well as formerly.

None of theſe things are ſuggeſted with an ill deſign to raiſe Animoſity betwixt the Na-

tions, or to perſwade to a Separation of the Crowns, but merely to ſhew thoſe of our Neighbours, who uſe us ſo unkindly, that they are bound in Gratitude, Duty and Intereſt to do otherwiſe, and particularly to ſupport us in our *American* Settlement, and not to lay our King under a neceſſity by their froward Humours in Parliament or otherwiſe, to diſcourage us in that Undertaking, as they have hitherto done, and continue ſtill to do in their *American* Colonies, by their Proclamations againſt having any Commerce or Trade with the *Scots* at *Darien*; tho they be ſettled there according to the Terms of his own Patent, and an Act of Parliament in *Scotland*.

We are not inſenſible that the preſent Juncture of Affairs obliges the Kingdom of *England* to carry fair with *Spain*, and may admit that in part as an Apology for ſome of that Oppoſition we have met with from them; but the queſtioning our Act of Parliament at firſt, and their hindering our Subſcriptions at *Hamburgh* afterward, before ever they knew what our deſign was, make that Excuſe of little weight: but allowing it all the force they would have it to bear, it may be worth their while to conſider whether it be more their Intereſt to incourage the *Spaniards* in an unjuſt Oppoſition to our *American* Settlement, or to ſupport the *Scots* in maintaining their Right. It is certain that the *Spaniards* are in no condition to break with *England*; or if they ſhould, it's in the power

power of the *Engliſh* to reduce them ſpeedily to reaſon: whereas if the *Scots* ſhould miſcarry in their Undertaking by the Diſcouragements from *England* before-mentioned, which expoſes our Ships to be taken and treated as Pirates by any Nation that pleaſes, the infallible conſequence of it will be, that the Ruin and utter Impoveriſhment of *Scotland*, which muſt neceſſarily follow ſuch a Miſcarriage, will immediatly affect *England* both in her Trade and Strength: The City of *London* and the Northern Road will ſoon feel the effects of it, when the Money ſpent by our Gentry and Merchants continually for Cloaths, Proviſions, and Goods, ceaſes to circulate there: *England* muſt unavoidably become an eaſier Prey to any foreign Enemy; ſince it will not be only the Loſs of a Tribe, but of an entire Siſter-Nation. Or ſuppoſing that *Scotland* ſhould be able to bear up under the Loſs, it will lay the foundation of an irreconcilable Feud, and perhaps iſſue in a War betwixt the two Nations; which did never yet terminate at long-run to the advantage of *England*, and is as unlikely to do ſo now as ever: for in ſuch a caſe they would find us unanimous as one Man againſt them; whereas we are ſure that all thoſe who wiſh well to the Proteſtant Intereſt, and their preſent Conſtitution, would never join in any ſuch War againſt us; and therefore thoſe who are Enemies to the Peace of the Nations, being aware of this, labour to effect their Deſign by another Method,

and endeavour as much as they can to daſh the Government and us againſt one another. But they are miſtaken in the People of *Scotland*: we are ſo ſenſible of our Obligations to K. *William*, and know ſo well what is due to our Deliverer, that it ſurpaſſes all their Art to create in us the leaſt ill thought of him; it is not in the temper of our Nation. The World knows that however frequent and ſucceſsful we have been in reducing our bad Kings to reaſon, yet there never was any People under the Sun more loyal and affectionate to good Princes than we have been; and if, when we have been forc'd to oppoſe our Monarchs, private perſons have ſometimes carried their Reſentments too high, yet the publick Juſtice of the Nation was always govern'd with Temper. We could multiply Inſtances to prove this, but need go no higher than the three laſt Kings, who tho all of them Enemies to our Conſtitution, as appear'd by their Principles and Practices, yet it's very well known what we both did and ſuffer'd for them, and particularly for K. *Charles* I. tho the Malice of a Faction in our neighbouring Nation fix'd a ſcandalous Reproach upon us, as if we had ſold him; from which Reflection we are ſufficiently vindicated by the Lord *Hollis*'s Memoirs before-mentioned; wherein that excellent Perſon makes it evident, that tho our War againſt that Prince was juſt, yet we had all poſſible reſpect for his Perſon, made the beſt Conditions we could for his Safety and Honour,

and

and to avoid greater Miſchiefs, and the playing of our Enemies game to the ruin of our ſelves and his Majeſty, we were neceſſitated to leave him in *England*. *Memoirs* p. 68.

Then ſince we carried it ſo to a Prince that had been no way kind to us, it will be impoſſible to create a Breach betwixt us and a Prince, to whom, under God, we owe all that we enjoy as Men and Chriſtians: But at the ſame time our Neighbours, who think to drive that Nail as far as it will go, would do well to conſider that we never believ'd that Doctrine in *Scotland*, that it is unlawful to reſiſt a King, or any that have a Commiſſion under him, upon any pretence whatſoever: we left that Doctrine in *Scythia*, from whence ſome Authors derive our Origin, and think it only fit to be ſent back to *Turkey*, from whence it came. We know very well how to diſtinguiſh betwixt a lawful Power, and the abuſe of it; and our Anceſtors rightly underſtood how to obey the lawful Commands of their Princes, when Maſters of themſelves, and how to govern by their Authority, and in their Name, when they were not; tho they did not think themſelves obliged to obey, their perſonal Commands, when the Fortune of War, or other Accidents had put them into the hands of our Enemies. Thus we refuſed Obedience to K. *James* I. when detain'd Priſoner in *England* contrary to the Law of Nations, and carried over into *France*, to command his Subjects there not to bear Arms

Arms againſt the *Engliſh* Army, where he was in Perſon. We told him we knew how to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Commands of a King and thoſe of a Captive: and that moſt of the Kings of *Scots* have been ſuch in relation to us ſince the Union, we could heartily wiſh were not too demonſtrable.

To return to the point of what may probably be the Conſequences if the *Engliſh* ſhould proceed to any further degree of oppoſition; or if the *Scots* ſhould miſcarry in the Deſign. It's reaſonable to believe that the *Engliſh* will be ſo wiſe as to forbear Hoſtilities, tho we are very well ſatisfied there is a Party in that Nation who bear ours no good will; but they being ſuch as are either diſaffected to the preſent Conſtitution, or acted by a ſordid Principle of private Intereſt, it's to be hop'd they will never be able ſo far to leaven the ſound part of the *Engliſh* Nation, as to occaſion a Rupture betwixt them and us: yet we muſt needs ſay that we look upon their way of treating us to be a very unaccountable thing, and that it was no ſmall ſurpriſe to us, to find that an *Engliſh* Parliament ſhould look on our taking Subſcriptions in *England* in order to admit them Joint-Sharers with our ſelves, in the benefit of the Act to encourage our Trade, to be no leſs than a high Miſdemeanour. We have reaſon likewiſe to complain of their conſtant practice of preſſing our Seamen in time of War, as if they were their own Subjects, and that they ſhould treat us in other reſpects

reſpects as if we were Aliens; and ſometimes confiſcate Ships, by reckoning *Scots* Mariners as ſuch: ſo that the *Engliſh* have not only depriv'd us of our Government and the warm Influences of our Court, the want of which is a conſiderable addition to the natural coldneſs of our Climate, but they likewiſe oppreſs us on all occaſions, and do manifeſtly endeavour to prevent our Application to Trade. We know there's a Party in that Nation, who think we ſuſtain'd no great loſs by the removal of our Princes; but we would wiſh them to conſider what a murmuring they themſelves make when the King goes annually to the *Netherlands* (tho the ſafety of *Europe* requires it) becauſe of the damp it puts upon Trade, and the Mony it carries out of the Kingdom. Let them conſider then what our Nation has ſuffer'd in that reſpect now for almoſt 100 years, beſides the leſſening our eſteem in the Eyes of the World, ſo that our Honour and Subſtance are both ſwallow'd up by the Kingdom of *England*; and yet they will neither admit us to the privileges of Fellow-Subjects with themſelves, nor ſuffer us to take ſuch meaſures as may inable us to ſtand on our own bottom. Certainly this is not the way to eſtabliſh the Peace, nor to increaſe the Wealth of the Iſland.

We know that it was a Maxim in ſome of the late Reigns, That it would never be well till all that part of *Scotland* on this ſide *Forth*, were reduc'd to a hunting Field; but we were in hopes

hopes the bitterneſs of thoſe days had been paſt: yet it ſeems that Party have ſtill ſo far the aſcendant amongſt our Neighbours, as to procure a publick oppoſition to all our Endeavours for raiſing our Nation by Trade.

It will upon due examination be found as bad Policy as it is Chriſtianity, to urge, as ſome of our Neighbours do, that it is the Intereſt of *England* to keep the *Scots* low, becauſe they are an independent and free Nation, and were our antient Enemies; and therefore may be dangerous Neighbours if they grow rich and potent. Nothing but Rancour and inveterate Malice can ſuggeſt ſuch ſour thoughts as theſe. It were fit that ſort of Men ſhould be purg'd of their Choler. The *Scots* to obviate all dangers from that Head, have, tho they be much the antienter Nation, condeſcended ſo far as ſeveral times to propoſe a Union, which the Gentlemen of that Kidney have hitherto prevented; and therefore we would wiſh them to look back into their Hiſtories, and upon caſting up their Accounts, make a true Eſtimate of whatever they gain'd by a War with *Scotland*. They will find that their Anceſtors, as well as the *Romans*, have been ſenſible, as *Tacitus* expreſſes it, *Quos ſibi Viros Caledonia ſepoſuerit*; and that as it was true what our Hiſtorian ſays of the unjuſt and treacherous War made upon us by *Edward* I. that *Scotorum Nomen pene delevit*; it was alſo true what he ſays on the other hand, that *Angliam vehementer concuſſit*: So that thoſe Gentlemen

tlemen take the direct way by oppoſing and oppreſſing us to run into thoſe dangers they would avoid; for they may aſſure themſelves that if the *Engliſh* Oppoſition to our *American* Settlement ſhould once break out into Hoſtilities, the *Scots* will find ſome Allies, antient or new, that will be glad of the opportunity to join with them. Or if, which is moſt probable, tho highly ungrateful and impolitick, the *Engliſh* ſhould ſo far neglect the *Scots*, as to ſuffer them to be overpower'd by the *French*, they may be ſure that the *Scots*, when put to their laſt ſhift, can always make an honourable Capitulation with *France:* It's not to be doubted, but that Crown would be very willing to renew their antient Alliance with us; and beſides allowing us a Share at leaſt in the Trade of *Darien*, would on condition of giving them the Poſſeſſion of *New Caledonia*, reſtore us likewiſe to all our antient Privileges in *France*. They would think it a very good purchaſe if they could ſecure themſelves of that Colony by doing ſo, granting us what ſecurity we could reaſonably deſire for the uninterrupted Injoyment of the Proteſtant Religion, and a Freedom of Trade to all places of the World where it did not actually interfere with their own Settlements and Colonies. So that if this ſhould be the caſe, we leave it to our Neighbours to judg what would become of their *Eaſt* and *Weſt India* Trade and Plantations, and of their own Liberty, and whether they would be able to ſtand out againſt *France* and us, now

that they have no footing on the Continent, ſince formerly, when they had ſo many Provinces of that Kingdom in their poſſeſſion, they found it a hard matter to do it, and at laſt loſt every foot of their *French* Dominions: Whereas had theybeen in Union with us, they might certainly have retain'd them, and by conſequence have prevented the great Calamities that *Europe* hath ſince groan'd under by the prodigious Increaſe of the *French* Monarchy.

This we think ſufficient to convince thoſe angry Gentlemen in our neighbouring Nation, that are ſo very much diſguſted with our *American* Settlement, that it is the Intereſt of *England* to join with us and ſupport it, and that it may be of dangerous conſequence to them either to oppoſe or neglect us: Whereas by joining cordially in this matter, they may unite us inſeparably to themſelves for ever, inrich their own Nation, ſecure and advance the Proteſtant Intereſt, keep the Ballance of *Europe* in their hands, and prevent the returns of its danger, their own expence of Blood and Treaſure to ſave its being threatned with Slavery any more, either by the Houſe of *Bourbon* or *Auſtria*. Therefore we cannot believe after all, but our wiſe and politick Neighbours will at laſt ſee it their Intereſt to protect and incourage us in this matter, that we may mutually ſtrengthen and ſupport one another againſt the *French*, who are loudeſt in their Clamours againſt our Settlement, becauſe if incourag'd and improv'd it will

will defeat all their ambitious and Antichriſtian Deſigns; and thereby we ſhall alſo be in a condition to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Plantations in the *Weſt Indies*, who as we find by the proceedings of the Earl of *Bellomont* and the Aſſemblies of *New England* and *New York*, are ſufficiently ſenſible of their danger, from the incroaching temper of the *French*, which increaſes every day; and it is evident that their new deſign'd Colony in *Miſſiſſipi* River looks with a dangerous Aſpect upon all the *Engliſh* Plantations in *America*, and may be more juſtly eſteemed an Incroachment upon *Spain*, as being in the Bay of *Mexico*, than our Plantation in *Darien*: which argues the treacherous Humour of that Nation, to make ſuch an Outcry againſt the *Scots* who have invaded no Mans Property, when they themſelves are ſo notoriouſly guilty of it; and therefore it would ſeem to be the Intereſt of *England* rather to ſtrengthen themſelves by our Friendſhip, and to look after the *French*, than to provoke us to look out for other Allies by their oppoſition and neglect.

We ſhall conclude this matter with one or two more Arguments to prove, That it is the Intereſt of *England* to join with us in this Affair; by which alſo it will appear that there is nothing advanc'd in theſe Sheets out of any ill Deſign againſt the *Engliſh* Nation, or to perſwade to a diſuniting of the Crowns; but on the contrary, that a ſtricter Union is abſolutely neceſſary, that both Nations may have but one

Intereſt, which will render us leſs liable to Convulſions and inteſtine Commotions at home, and put us out of danger of being attack'd by Enemies from abroad.

The firſt Argument is this; That by incouraging our Settlement at *Darien*, *Engliſh* Ships that have occaſion to paſs by thoſe Coaſts will there be certain of a place of Retreat in caſe of attack either by Enemy or Tempeſt, without danger of being confiſcated by the *Spaniards*, and having their Men condemn'd to be perpetual Slaves in the Mines.

2. If we be incouraged in our *American* Colony, it will contribute much to heighten the Conſumption of the *Engliſh* Product; ſince what we have not of our own, or wherein we are wanting either as to quality or quantity, we ſhall ſupply our ſelves, for the uſe of our Plantation, in *England*; which may be of great benefit to the Northern Counties eſpecially, whence we may conveniently furniſh our ſelves with Beeves for victualling our Ships, our own Cattel being for the moſt part too ſmall for that uſe; beſides many other things that we ſhall have occaſion to export from *England* for the uſe of the Plantation, and to maintain a Commerce with the Natives.

3. By joining with us in this Colony, and ſecuring a Poſt on the South-Sea, which the Princes of *Darien* will no doubt very readily agree to, they may ſhorten their Voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and by that means be able to outdo all

all their Rivals in that Trade: but if they will be ſo far wanting to themſelves, as to ſuffer thoſe advantages to fall into the hands of others who are Enemies to our Religion and common Country, they cannot blame the *Scots*, who have made them ſuch fair Offers; and if our Nation ſhould miſcarry in the Attempt, they themſelves cannot expect to ſtand long, but muſt be buried in the common Ruins, and fall unpitied.

4. If after all the *Engliſh* ſhould continue obſtinate in their Oppoſition to us, as their late Proclamations in *America*, and other Paſſages would ſeem to imply they have a mind to, the World cannot blame the *Scots* to provide for themſelves by ſuch other Alliances as they ſhall think meet; ſince the *Engliſh* are ſo unkind, and have been conſtantly growing upon us, eſpecially ſince the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. to which we did ſo much contribute, that without our concurrence it could never have been effected. This will appear to be incontrovertibly true, if we conſider that in the time of K. *James* I. we were under no Reſtrictions as to matters of Trade more than they, except as to the exportation of Wool, and a few other things of *Engliſh* Product; and ſo we continu'd till the Reſtoration, when K. *Charles* II. and the *Engliſh* did very ungratefully lay ſuch Preclusions and Reſtrictions upon us contrary to the Laws relating to the *Poſtnati*, by the 12*th* of *Car.* 2. *for the incouraging and increaſing Shipping and Navigation*, and the 15 *Car.*

Car. 2. *for the incouragement of Trade*; by which we are put in the ſame Circumſtances as to Traffick with *France* and *Holland*, and in a worſe condition than *Ireland* that is a Conqueſt; which is ſo much the more unreaſonable, ſince we are always involv'd and ingag'd in the Wars betwixt *England* and other Countries: and thoſe with whom they have moſt frequent Wars, being *Holland* and *France*, the only two Nations with whom the *Scots* have almoſt any Commerce, our Trade muſt of neceſſity ſink during ſuch Wars, whereas *England* hath ſtill a great Trade to other parts of the World; and by this means we are forc'd to be ſharers in their Troubles, tho they will not allow us to partake of their Profits, nor ſuffer us to take any meaſures to procure ſuch as we may call our own.

It is plain from the Inſtance of *Darien*, and the Proclamations in the *Engliſh American* Colonies againſt their Subjects entertaining any Commerce with our Settlement there, that by the Union of the Crowns upon the preſent footing, we are in a worſe condition than ever; for when any thing happens wherein the Intereſt of *England* ſeems to be contrary to ours, it is certainly carried againſt us, and we are left without remedy: ſo that in this reſpect we are in a worſe condition than any Foreigners, with relation to *England*; for if a foreign People diſcover any thing that may be of advantage to them, they are at liberty to purſue it by themſelves,

ſelves, or to take in the Aſſiſtance of others; and if they find themſelves aggriev'd by *England*, they have their reſpective Governments to make application to for redreſs: but we are the moſt unhappy People in the World; for if *England* oppoſe us, we have no King to appeal to, but one that is either an Alien and Enemy to us, as being King of a greater People who are ſuch, or if he be inclinable to protect and do us Juſtice as King of *Scots*, he is a Priſoner in *England*, and cannot do it: If they queſtion him in the Parliament of *England* for any thing relating to his Government of *Scotland*, as in the caſe of our late Act for an *Eaſt-India* and *African* Trade, his Intereſt as King of *England* obliges him to ſubmit himſelf as King of *Scotland*; by which means our Crown, which we defended ſo gallantly for ſo many ages, and which the *Engliſh* could never make ſubject to theirs by force, is now intirely ſubjected by a falſe ſtep of our own, in ſuffering our King to take their Crown upon him without making better terms for our ſelves: So that inſtead of having a King to fight our Battels, we have made a ſurrender of our Prince to the Enemy, who arm him againſt us; and which is worſt of all, we have falſified our own Proverb as to our ſelves, *That* Scots-men *are wiſe behind hand*: for tho we ſufficiently ſmarted for it in the four laſt Reigns, yet we had not ſo much foreſight or care of our ſelves as to prevent the Conſequences of it in this Reign, when it was in our power to have done

done it. Then if we make application to our antient Allies, or any other foreign Power for Aſſiſtance, when we groan under Oppreſſion, we are treated as Rebels: Thus our whole Nation was proclaim'd ſuch for but offering to make application to the King of *France*, as our antient Friend and Ally, when a certain Party in *England* had arm'd our natural Soveraign K. *Charles* I. againſt us. And that which is ſtill worſe, tho our Crown from the time of the Union has been for the moſt part on the Head of an Alien or Enemy, yet it has influence enough to divide us amongſt our ſelves againſt the Intereſt of the Nation; as in the Reign of K. *Charles* II. thoſe that comply'd with the Court of *England* were brib'd with all the chief places in our Adminiſtration, whilſt thoſe who were true Patriots to their Country (as for Honour ſake to inſtance only in the late Great Duke of *Hamilton*, and our preſent Lord High Chancellor) were expos'd to all manner of Dangers and Vexations. This we think ſufficient to convince our Neighbors that we have no reaſon to be fond of having the Union of the Crowns continu'd, except the Intereſt of the Nations be more cloſely united than ever they have hitherto been. And to let them ſee that it is their intereſt as well as ours it ſhould be ſo, we ſhall only deſire them to conſider how fatal it may be to them, if by any Emergency we ſhould be forc'd to break off the Union of the Crowns, and enter again into

to a *French* Alliance. It's in vain for them to object that in ſuch a caſe we ſhould betray our Religion; for we ſee the perſecuted *Hungarians* were protected in that by the *Turks*, tho ſworn Enemies to it: nor is it impoſſible but there may be a Change as to that matter in *France*; *L.* XIV. is not immortal: and even *Julian* the Apoſtate himſelf found it his Intereſt for ſome time to protect the Orthodox Chriſtians, whom he mortally hated. But ſuppoſing (as indeed there's no great likelihood of it) that no ſuch Alliance as this ſhould ever happen; yet however, if theſe two Nations be not more cloſely united, it may be of ill conſequence to *England*, if any of their Kings at any time ſhould be ſo far diſguſted with their Proceedings, as to leave them, and betake themſelves to us. What a Field of Blood and Slaughter muſt *England* have become, had we carried off K. *Charles* I. when he came to our Army, or if we had join'd him againſt the Parliament of *England?* What great Efforts did a Party of our Nation make to inthrone K. *Charles* II. when *England* was againſt him? and how did our Concurrence afterwards with General *Monk* effect it? How ſoon did our eſpouſing the D. of *York*'s Intereſt turn the Tables upon thoſe that oppoſed him in *England?* And if our Nation had likewiſe eſpous'd his Cauſe before the Revolution, the Viſcount of *Dundee* gave a ſufficient proof what we could have done for him. There's a ſtrong Party in *England* at preſent againſt allowing

lowing the King a ſtanding Force, for fear, as they pretend, of loſing their Liberties; but all their Oppoſition in that reſpect would ſignify little, if (in caſe of a Rupture) our Nation ſhould take part with the Court, and bring in 22000 men, with 6 weeks Proviſions and Pay, as we are oblig'd to do by Act of Parliament, for his Aſſiſtance. This makes it evident that it is not the intereſt of *England* to ſlight an Union with us ſo much as they have don: for ſo long as we remain divided, any King that is ſo minded, may make uſe of us to inſlave one another; and any envious Neighbour, whoſe Intereſt it is to keep this Iſland low, will be ſure to blow the Coals. If they'd but turn the Tables, and make our Caſe their own, they would quickly be ſatisfied of the truth of what we advance. Suppoſing that the Government of *Scotland* ſhould traverſe the Actings of the Government of *England* in relation to their Trade, *&c.* as they have done ours; and ſuppoſing that a Parliament of *Scotland*, when the King were there, ſhould queſtion him for the Navigation Act, and that for the Incouragement of Trade in *England* by K. *Charles* II. which lays us under ſuch hard Circumſtances and Reſtrictions, the *Engliſh* would certainly very much reſent it, and ſpeedily tell us we meddled with what did not belong to us: Then why ſhould they deny us the like liberty in reference to their Proceedings againſt us, ſeeing we are a free Nation as well as they?

They

They cannot think that the Kingdom of *Scotland* will look upon the *Engliſh* Proclamations in the *Weſt-Indies*, againſt having any Commerce with our Colony at *Darien*, to be the Act and Deed of a King of *Scotland*, ſince it is not only contrary to his own Act of Parliament there, and his Patent under the Great Seal of that Kingdom, but contrary to the Intereſt of that Nation: but being the Act of a perſon who is really King of *Scots*, we can look upon it to be no other than the effect of a force put upon him by a Nation which in this matter thinks it their Intereſt he ſhould do ſo. Now ſuppoſe, which God forbid, our Colony ſhould be ſtarv'd by virtue of thoſe Proclamations, or that our Ships going and coming from *Darien*, ſhould by reaſon thereof be attack'd, and treated as Pirates by the *Engliſh*, *French*, *Dutch*, or any other Nation, who may take the opportunity to do it, and ſay our King has declar'd againſt us; to whom ſhould we make application for redreſs in this matter? The King of *England*, he is our Enemy, and emitted thoſe Proclamations; the King of *Scots* is detain'd in *England*, and not Maſter of himſelf, but is forc'd to act thus contrary to the Intereſt of his own antient Crown and Kingdom; as a former K. *William*, *John Baliol*, and *James* I. were forc'd to do, when in the power of the *Engliſh*. In ſuch a caſe, if our infant Colony ſhould by this means be deſtroyed, our Neighbours muſt needs think that we ſhould look for

a Compenſation ſomewhere, reſume the Government into our own hands, and ſtrengthen our ſelves by new Alliances; which perhaps might be little to their advantage. This is not ſuggeſted as a thing that is ever likely to be practis'd, or to which the Kingdom of *Scotland* is any way inclin'd: Our whole Conduct ſince the Union is a continu'd evidence of the uprightneſs of our Intentions towards *England*; and the Offers we did make, and do ſtill continue to make, of admitting 'em as Partners and Sharers in our new Settlement, are enough to ſtop the mouth of Calumny it ſelf. But if in return for our kindneſs we meet with Neglect and Contempt, have our Soveraignty trampled under foot, our Settlement in *America* by an Act of Parliament in *Scotland* reflected upon as unjuſt by Proclamations from *England*, the World cannot blame us to complain of the Violence done to our Independency and Honour; which is not to be ſalv'd by any politick conſiderations whatever, that our Neighbours can pretend for this Treatment.

Nor can any thing leſs than joining with us, and protecting that Settlement againſt all oppoſition in caſe of Attacks by the *French*, or others, ſufficiently atone for what is already don, or heal the Wound thoſe Proclamations have giv'n to the common Intereſt and Honor of the Iſland.

We come in the next place to give a Deſcription of the *Iſthmus* of *Darien*. It lies betwixt

twixt the 8*th* and 10*th* Degrees of Northern Latitude, and in the narroweſt place is betwixt 60 and 80 *Italian* Miles over. We ſhall not trouble our ſelves with the Deſcription of any more of it than is in the poſſeſſion of the Natives, which is in length from E. to W. on the North ſide from the Mouth of the River *Darien* to Port *Scrivan*, above 140 *Italian* Miles; from *Caret* Bay to the River of *Cheapo* on the South-ſide, it is about 160 in length. It is ſuppoſed to take its Name from the great River of *Darien*, that bounds its Northern Coaſt to the Eaſtward. It is bounded on the North and South with the vaſt Oceans that carry the names of the North and South Seas. Its Situation is very pleaſant and agreable, and very commodious for a ſpeedy and ſhort Communication of Trade betwixt the North and South Seas, and preventing that vaſt Compaſs that muſt otherwiſe be fetch'd round either of the Extremes of North and South-*America*. By this means alſo it lies convenient for a ſpeedier Communication of Trade betwixt *Europe* and the *Eaſt-Indies* than any that hath hitherto been found out. Mr. *Dampier* ſays, that from *Cheapo*, or *Santa Maria* River, a man may paſs from Sea to Sea in three days, and that the *Indians* do it in a day and half. There are abundance of valuable Iſlands on both ſides the *Iſthmus*, which prevent the breaking in of the Ocean upon it at once; and beſides the Conveniences of Wood, Fiſh, Fowl, and Water, afford good and ſafe Riding

Riding in all Weathers, to any number of Ships, eſpecially thoſe call'd the *Sambaloes*, that lie along the Northern Coaſt. The Continent is agreably intermix'd with Hills and Valleys of great variety, for height, depth, and extent. The Valleys are watered with Rivers, Brooks and Springs, which take their riſe from a great Ridg of Hills that run along the *Iſthmus*, but neareſt to the Northern Shore, from which it is ſeldom above 15 miles diſtant, and from whence the *Sambaloes* Iſlands, and the various makings of the Shore, and the continued Foreſt all along the Country gratify the Eye with a very fine proſpect. The Rivers on the Northern Coaſt are generally ſmall, becauſe their Courſe from the abovementioned Ridg of Hills is but ſhort; yet the River of *Darien* is very large, but the depth of its entrance not anſwerable to its width, yet further in it is deep enough, and hath a good Harbour in *Caret* Bay which is ſome leagues up the River, hath two Iſlands of pretty high Land, cloath'd with variety of Trees lying before it, and two or three ſtreams of freſh Water falling into it. From this Bay to the Promontory near *Golden Iſland*, the Shore is indifferently fruitful, and the Soil on the Northern Coaſt is generally good, but ſwampy here and there to the Sea.

To the Weſtward of the Promontory, at the entrance of the River, is a fine ſandy Bay with three Iſlands, one of them *Golden Iſland* lying before it, which make it an extraordinary good

Harbour.

Harbour. *Golden Iſland* is rocky and ſteep all round, except at the landing place on the South ſide, ſo that it is naturally fortify'd. The Land of the *Iſthmus* over againſt it to the S. E. is an excellent fruitful Soil. Weſt of this Iſland lies the largeſt of the three, being ſwampy and covered with Maingroves. To the North of theſe lies the Iſland of *Pines*, cover'd with tall Trees fit for any uſe. From the point againſt theſe Iſlands for three Leagues Weſtward, the Shore is guarded by Rocks, ſo that a Boat cannot land; but at the N. W. end of the Rocks there's a very good Harbour, and good Riding, as has been ſaid, in all Winds, by ſome or other of thoſe Iſlands, which with the adjacent Shore make a lovely Landskip off at Sea. The Channel betwixt them and the *Iſthmus* is two, three, and four miles broad, and navigable from end to end; and the Ground oppoſite to them within Land an excellent Soil, and a continued Foreſt of ſtately Timber-trees.

On the South ſide there's the River *Sambo* that falls into the Sea by point *Garachina*. This is a large River. Then there's the Gulph of St. *Michael*, made by the Outlet of ſeveral conſiderable Rivers, as thoſe of *Santa Maria* and *Congo*, and the *Gold-River*, ſo call'd becauſe of the great plenty of Gold Duſt it affords to the *Spaniards*. The River *Congo* may be entred at high water, and affords a good Harbour. The Gulph has ſeveral Iſlands in it, and affords good Riding in many places. The Country on this

this ſide as on the other is one continued Foreſt; and forms a Bay call'd the Bay of *Panama*, abounding with fine Iſlands, and affording good Riding for Ships. The Soil of the Inland Country is for the moſt part a black fruitful Mold.

The Weather is much the ſame as in other places of the Torrid Zone in this Latitude, but inclining to the wet extreme, for two thirds of the year, the Rains beginning in *April*.

The moſt remarkable of their Trees are the *Cotton* Tree, which bears a Cod as big as a Nutmeg full of ſhort Wool or Down, and affords Timber for Canoes and Periagoes; they abound with ſtately *Cedars* and *Macaw* Trees, which bear a Fruit as big as a ſmall Pear, of a tart but not unpleaſant Taſte; *Bibby* Tree, the Wood hard and black as Ink, and being tapp'd, affords a Liquor call'd *Bibby*, of a pleaſant tart taſte, which the *Indians* drink. They have abundance of *Plantains* ſet in Walks, which make very delightful Groves, and yield an excellent Fruit, and being green and ſappy, are cut down with one ſtroke of an Ax. They have alſo plenty of *Bonanoes* another ſort of Plantain, which eats beſt raw as the Plantain does boil'd. They have great ſtore of that excellent Fruit call'd *Pine-apples*, which taſtes like a Mixture of all delicious Fruits, and ripens at all times of the year. They have alſo *Prickle-pear*, which is a very good Fruit; and *Sugar-Canes*, of which they make no other uſe but to ſuck out the Juice. The *Maho* Tree, of which they make

make Ropes, Cables for Ships, and Nets for fiſhing. The *Calabaſh* whoſe Shells ſerve for Cups and other occaſions, is curiouſly painted; the ſweet ſort of 'em is eatable, and the bitter ſort Medicinal. They have alſo *Gourds* of the like nature. There's a Plant they call *Silk Graſs* which reſembles our Flaggs; this they beat into ſtrings like fine Flax, much ſtronger than our Flax or Hemp; of theſe they make Ropes, Cordage of all ſorts, Nets for ſmall Fiſh; and the *Spaniards* and others uſe it for Shoemakers Thread, Stockins, and a ſort of Lace. They have a Tree call'd *Lightwood*, as large as an Elm, but ſo light, that a Man may carry a great quantity of it on his back. It is in ſubſtance like Cork, and made uſe of by the *Indians* for rafters to go to Sea, or paſs Rivers. They have a Tree call'd *Whitewood* of a finer Grain, and whiter than any European Wood, and fit for inlaying. They have *Tamarind*, *Locuſt Tree*, *Baſtard Cinnamon*, *Bamboes*, and *Maingrove* Trees in plenty. They have Shrubs that bear ſtore of Pepper of two ſorts, call'd bell Pepper, and bird Pepper.

Mr. *Wafer*, to whom we owe this Deſcription, takes notice of a *Redwood*, whereof there grow great quantities on the Northern Coaſt; the *Indians* make uſe of it for dying, and mix a kind of Earth they have with it. It makes a bright gloſſy lively Red, which no waſhing can fetch out again. This we ſuppoſe to be the *Nicaragua* Wood. Their Roots are Pota-

toes, Yams, and Caſſava; of the laſt of which they make Bread. They have likewiſe Tobacco, but don't underſtand the planting and manuring of it; it is not ſo ſtrong as that of *Virginia.*

Their Beaſts are the Peccary, and *Waree* a kind of wild Hogs, which are very good Meat. They have conſiderable ſtore of Deer and Rabbits, and great droves of Monkys, which are extraordinary fat and good to eat. They have an Inſect call'd a *Soldier*, ſomewhat reſembling a Crab, which feeds upon what falls from the Tree, is a delicious Meat, and yields an Oil that is an excellent Salve. They have no European Cattle.

Their Birds are the *Chicaly-Chicaly*, which makes a noiſe ſomewhat like a Cuccoo, is a large Bird, has Feathers of divers Colours very beautiful and lively, whereof the Natives ſometimes make Aprons. This Bird keeps moſtly on the Trees, feeds on fruit, and is pretty good Meat. The *Quam* feeds in the ſame manner, his Wings are dun, his Tail dark, ſhort, and upright. He is much preferable to the other for Meat. There's a *Ruſſet-colour'd Bird*, reſembling a Partridg, runs moſt on the ground, and is excellent Meat. The *Corroſou* is a large Fowl as big as a Turky, and of a black colour. The *Cock* has a fine Crown of yellow Feathers on his Head, and Gills like a Turkey. They live on Trees, and eat Fruit. They ſing very delightfully, and are ſo well imitated by the *Indians*,

Indians, that they diſcover their haunts by it. They are very good Meat, but their Bones make the Dogs run mad, and are therefore hid from them by the *Indians*. They have abundance of *Parrots*, for ſize and ſhape much like thoſe of *Jamaica*, they are very good Meat. Their *Parakites* are moſt of them green, and go in large flights by themſelves. They have *Macaw* Birds which are as big again as Parrots, and reſemble them in ſhape. They have a Bill like a Hawk, and a buſhy Tail with two or three long ſtraggling Feathers, either red or blue; but thoſe of the Body are of a lovely blue, green, and red. The *Indians* tame thoſe Birds, and teach them to ſpeak; and then letting them go into the Woods amongſt the wild ones, they will return of their own accord to the Houſes. They exactly imitate the Voices and ſinging of the *Indians*, and call the *Chicaly* in its own Note. It is one of the pleaſanteſt Birds in the World, and its fleſh ſweet and well taſted. They have alſo *Woodpeckers* which are pied like our Magpies, and have long Claws that they climb up Trees with; they are not pleaſant to eat. They have plenty of Dunghil-foul reſembling thoſe of *Europe*, and their Fleſh and Eggs as well taſted as ours. About the *Sambaloes* they have great ſtore of Sea-foul, and particularly Pelicans which are large Birds, having Legs and Feet like a Gooſe, and a Neck like a Swan, the Feathers are grey. It has a Bag under its throat, which when fill'd, is as large as a man's two fiſts; and when dry,

will hold a pound of Tobacco; they feed upon Fiſh, and the young ones are good meat. They have alſo *Cormorants* reſembling Ducks for ſize and ſhape, are of a black Colour, have a white ſpot on the Breaſt, and pitch ſometimes on Trees and Shrubs by the water ſide. They are too rank to be eaten. They have abundance of Sea-gulls and Pyes, which are pretty good meat, but eat fiſhy, which is cur'd by burying 'em eight or ten hours in the Sand with their Feathers on. They have flying Inſects too, and among others Bees, which form their Hives on Trees; and it's obſerv'd, That they never ſting any body: The Natives mix the Hony with Water, and ſo drink it, but know not the uſe of the Wax. They have ſhining Flies, which in the night time reſemble Glow-worms.

Their Fiſh are the *Tarpom*, which eats like Salmon; ſome of 'em weigh 50 or 60 pound: They afford good Oil. They have *Sharks*, and another fiſh that reſembles a *Shark*, but much better Meat. The *Cavally* is much of the ſize of a Maccarel, and very good Meat. They have a Fiſh call'd *Old Wives*, which is alſo very good to eat. Their *Paracoods* are as large as a well-grown Pike, and very good Meat; but in ſome particular places poiſonous, which are diſtinguiſh'd by the Liver. Their *Gar*-fiſh is good Meat, they have a long Bone on their Snout, with which they will ſometimes pierce the ſide of a Canoe. They have alſo *Sculpins*,

a prickly Fiſh, which when ſtrip'd, is very good Meat. They have likewiſe *String-rays*, *Parrot-fiſh*, *Snooks*, *Conger Eels*, *Conths*, *Perriwinkles*, *Limpits*, *Sea Crabs*, *and Craw-fiſh*, and other ſorts whoſe names we know not, that eat very well.

The Inhabitants are moſt numerous on the North of the *Iſthmus*; the Men uſually 5 or 6 foot high, ſtreight, clean limb'd, big-bon'd, handſomely ſhap'd, nimble, active, and run well. The Women are ſhort and thick, and not ſo lively as the Men; the young Women plump, well-ſhap'd, and have a brisk Eye: both Sexes have a round Viſage, ſhort bottle Noſes, large and grey Eyes, high Forehead, white even Teeth, thin Lips, pretty large Mouths, well proportion'd Cheeks and Chins, and in general handſome; but the Men exceed the Women. Both Sexes have ſtreight long lank black Hair, which they generally wear down to the middle of their Back. All other Hair but that of their Eye-brows and Eye-lids they pull up by the Roots, cut off the hair of their Heads, and paint themſelves black by way of triumph, when they kill a *Spaniard*. Their natural complexion is a copper Colour, and their Eye-brows black as jet. There are ſome among them of both Sexes, which bear the proportion of two or three to a hundred, who are milk white, and have all their Bodies cover'd over with a milk white Down; their Hair is of the ſame Colour, and very fine, about 6 or 8 Inches long,

long, and inclining to curl. They are leſs in ſtature than the other *Indians*, and their Eyelids point downwards in form of a Creſcent; they don't ſee well in the Sun, their Eyes being weak and running with Water if the Sun ſhine upon them, therefore they are call'd Moon-ey'd. They are weak and ſluggiſh in the day time, but in Moon-ſhiny nights all life and activity, and run as faſt thro the Woods by night, as the other *Indians* do by day. They are not ſo much reſpected as the other *Indians*, but look'd upon as monſtrous. The Natives go naked both Men and Women, only the Men have a thing like an Extinguiſher of ſilver or gold Plate tied round their middle to cover their Yard, and the Women tie a piece of Cloth before them, which comes as low as their Knee; but they uſe none of thoſe Precautions till they come to the years of Puberty; the Men that have not thoſe Extinguiſhers, make uſe of a piece of a Plantain-leaf of a Conick Figure. They are in general a modeſt and cleanly People, and have a value for Cloths if they had them. The better ſort have long Cotton Garments ſhap'd like Carmens Frocks, which they uſe on ſolemn occaſions, as attending the King or Chief, *&c.* For an Ornament to the Face, beſides their general painting and daubing, the Men wear a piece of Plate hanging over their Mouths, and the Chief of them have it of Gold. It is of an Oval Form, and gently pinching the Bridle of the Noſe with its points, hangs dangling from thence as low

as

as the under Lip; and inſtead of this the Women wear a Ring thro the Bridle of the Noſe: they lay them aſide at their Feaſts. They likewiſe wear Chains of Teeth, Shells, Beads, or the like; the heavier they be, they reckon them the more ornamental. Their Houſes lie moſtly ſcattering, and always by a River-ſide, but in ſome places they are ſo many as to form a Town or Village. Their Walls are made up of Sticks, and daub'd over with Earth: The Fire is in the middle of the Houſe, and the Smoke goes out at a Hole in the Roof: They are not divided into Stories or Rooms, but into Hovels; every one has a Hammock for a Bed in one of thoſe Hovels. They have no Doors, Shelves, or Seats, other than Logs of Wood. Every Neighbourhood has a Warhouſe of 130 foot long, the ſides and Ends full of Holes, whence they ſhoot their Arrows on the approach of the *Spaniards*. In their Plantations they ſet ſo much Plantain, Maiz, *&c.* as ſerves their occaſions: They likewiſe make Drink of Maiz, which they ferment by Grains of the ſame chewed in their Mouths: They have alſo another ſort of Drink, which they make of Plantains. Moſt of the Drudgery is perform'd by the Women with great cheerfulneſs, being very well condition'd, and dutiful to their Husbands, who are otherwiſe very indulgent to them, and their Children. The Women waſh the Mother and Child in a River within an hour after Delivery. The Boys are bred

bred to the Bow, Hunting, and Fiſhing, *&c.* at which they are mighty dexterous; and the Girls help the Women in dreſſing their Victuals, Weaving, making Cotton Cloth, Cordage, Nets, *&c.* and the Men make Baskets very neat, dying the Materials firſt with lively Colours. They allow Poligamy, but puniſh Adultery with Death of both Parties: They puniſh Theft alſo with Death; and Fornication with thruſting a Briar up the Man's Yard, whereof they commonly die. The Facts muſt be prov'd by Oath, which is a ſwearing by their Tooth. When they marry, the Father or neareſt Kinſman keeps the Bride privately in his own Apartments the firſt 7 Nights, and then ſhe is deliver'd to her Husband: All the Neighbours for ſome Miles round are invited to a great Feaſt, and bring Proviſions with them: The Fathers of the young Couple bring them forth in their hands, and the Bridegroom's Father makes a Speech; then he dances about in antick Geſtures till all on a ſweat, when he kneels down, and gives his Son to the Bride, her Father alſo having danc'd himſelf into a Sweat, and preſenting her to the Bridegroom in the ſame manner; then they take each other by the hand, and ſo the Ceremony concludes. After this all the Men take up their Axes, and run ſhouting to a Tract of Wood-land, to prepare a Plantation for the new Couple. That being done, they have their Feaſt, and afterwards drink hard, all their Arms being firſt put

put out of the way, to prevent Danger in caſe of quarrelling. They divert themſelves ſomtimes by dancing, and piping on a ſmall hollow Bamboe, but without diſtinction of Notes: The Men and Women never dance nor feaſt together, but apart. The Women accompany them likewiſe in their hunting Expeditions, which ſometimes laſt 20 days: They tie their Hammocks betwixt two Trees, cover them with Plantain Leaves, and have Fires all night by their Hammocks: Such of their Prey as they take a Hunting, and deſign to keep for future uſe, they barbecue in the Woods; and what they make uſe of for preſent Suſtenance, they mix with Roots, Plantain, Bonanoes, and Pepper, and ſtew it together till it be brought to a Pulp; which they take up with the two foremoſt Fingers of their right Hand bent hookwiſe, and put into their Mouths. They travel by direction of the Sun, or the bending of the Trees, according as the Wind is. None of the *Engliſh* Authors take notice of their Worſhip or Religion, but give an account that they pawaw, or conſult the Devil to know Futurities: and it would ſeem they are as ignorant in matters of Phyſick and Chirurgery, ſince when they would let a Patient blood, they ſet him upon the Bank of a River, and with a little Bow, and ſmall Arrow, gag'd that it may enter no further than our Lancets, they ſhoot as faſt as they can at all parts of the Patient's Body; and if they chance to hit on a

Vein, that the Blood ſpurts out a little, they teſtify their joy by antick Dances.

We come next to give an account of the Settlement of our men there; how they were receiv'd by the Natives; what *Indian* Princes there are in their Neighbourhood; in what ſtate they found the Affairs of the Country; and of the Situation of our Colony.

On the 27*th* of *October* 1698. our Ships came to an Anchor in a fair ſandy Bay, 3 Leagues W. off the Gulf of *Darien*; upon which two Canoes, with ſeveral *Indians*, came on board, were very free with our Men, told them they had been long expected, and were very welcome: Our Men gave them ſome old Hats, Looking-glaſſes and Knives, with which they were extremely well pleas'd, and went off. When our Ships ſtood further into the Bay, they ſaw about 20 *Indians* drawn up on the Shoar, being arm'd with Bows and Lances; upon which a Boat being ſent aſhoar, and making a ſignal of Peace, they unſtrung their Bows, talk'd familiarly, and told our Men that two Great Captains would in a little time come on board our Ships. Accordingly on *November* 2*d* in the morning Capt. *Andreas*, one of their Princes, accompanied by 12 Men, came on board, and ask'd their buſineſs; he was anſwered, that we came to live among them, and trade with them, and would afford them *European* Commodities cheaper than any other People. He ask'd if we

we were Friends or Enemies to the *Spaniards*; and was anſwered that we were at peace with all men, and would make war upon no man, except they injur'd us. He took us for Buccaneers, and told us he knew Capt. *Swan* and Capt. *Davis* in the South-Sea, and commended them as men of valour. We heard that part of his Diſcourſe with very much coldneſs, and told him we came on no ſuch deſign as thoſe men did, but had Authority for what we undertook. We treated him civilly, gave him a Hat lac'd with Gold, and ſome Toys: and ſo he parted, promiſing in a little time to come again; which he accordingly did, and brought *Don Pedro*, another of their Princes or Captains, with him. Capt. *Andreas* was freer with us than at firſt, plainly own'd that he took us for Buccaneers, and complain'd that ſome *Engliſh men* of that ſort had after great pretences of Friendſhip, carried off ſome of their People; and therefore *Don Pedro* would not come aboard us till he had further aſſurance of us.

Capt. *Andreas* is a perſon of a ſmall ſtature; he affects the *Spaniſh* Gravity, as having been often among them at the Mines of *Santa Maria*, *Panama*, &c. and formerly had a Commiſſion under them as a Captain, upon which he values himſelf above others: The *French* hate him mortally, becauſe of ſomething he did againſt ſome of their Nation formerly. When he came on board us, he had a ſort of a Coat of red looſe Stuff, an old Hat, a pair of Drawers,

but no Stockings nor Shoes; and the reſt that came with him were all naked, excepting their *Penis*, which was covered by Extinguiſhers, as formerly mention'd.

Upon further communing, Capt. *Andreas* was very well pleas'd with us, offered us what part of the Country we would chuſe, and accepted a Commiſſion from us; and at the ſame time we gave him a Basket-hilted Sword, and a pair of Piſtols: upon which he promiſed to defend us to the laſt of his Blood.

Some of the Princes on this ſide the *Iſthmus* had been in peace with the *Spaniards* for ſeveral years, and ſuffered a few of them to reſide amongſt them, to give notice to *Panama* of what Ships came upon theſe Coaſts; but upon ſome freſh diſguſt, about two months before we ariv'd, Capt. *Ambroſio*, who is the moſt noted Prince amongſt 'em, had oblig'd them to enter into a common Alliance againſt *Spain*, and cut off ten *Spaniards*, who liv'd upon *Golden Iſland*.

The Place where we are ſetled is 4 Miles Eaſt of *Golden Iſland*, within a great Bay. We have an excellent Harbor, ſurrounded with high Mountains, capable of holding a thouſand Sail land-lock'd, and ſafe from all Winds and Tempeſts. The Mouth of the Harbor is about random Cannon-ſhot over, form'd by a *Peninſula* on the one ſide, and a point of Land on the other. In the middle of the Entrance there is a Rock three foot above water, upon which the Sea breaks moſt terribly when the Wind blows

 hard;

hard; and within the Points there is a ſmall Rock that lies a little under water. On both ſides theſe Rocks there's a very good wide Channel for Ships to come in: that on the South-ſide is three Cables long, and ſeven Fathom deep; and that on the North two Cables long. From the two outermoſt points the Harbour runs away Eaſt a Mile and an half; and near the middle, on the right hand, a point of Land ſhoots out into the Bay: ſo that by raiſing Forts on the ſaid Point, on the Rock in the middle of the Entrance, and the two outermoſt Points, it will be the ſtrongeſt Harbor, both by Art and Nature, that's in the known World. The Bay within is for the moſt part 6 Fathom Water, and till you come within a Cable's length of the Shoar, three Fathom and an half: So that a Key may be built, to which great Ships may lay their Sides, and unload. The *Peninſula* lies on the left hand, is a mile and an half in length, very ſteep, and high towards the Sea: ſo that it would be very difficult for any body to land, till you come to the *Iſthmus*, where there's a ſmall ſandy Bay that little Ships may put into, but is eaſy to be ſecured by a Ditch and a Fort. There are ſeveral little Rivers of very good Water that fall into the Bay; and it abounds ſo with excellent Fiſh, that we can with eaſe take more than it's poſſible for us to deſtroy, having ſometimes caught 140 at a draught: amongſt others there be Tortoiſes, which are excellent Meat, and ſome of them above 600 weight. The

The *Peninſula* was never inhabited, and is cover'd all over with Trees of various ſorts, as ſtately Cedars, Braſil-wood, *Lignum Vitæ*, Box-wood, Fuſtick-wood, Yellow Sanders, Manſhinel, *&c.* and the like ſorts, beſides others whoſe names we know not, grow on the Continent; and we doubt not of finding out the *Nicaragua* Wood: we have found Cabbage Trees, the Fruit of which eats like Colly-flowers. The Natives have no Plantation within two Miles of us.

We have a Watch-Tower upon an high Hill adjoining to our Plantation, about a mile South of the Bay; from whence we can ſee the Ships in the Bay, the Fort we have raiſed on the Mouth of the Bay, and as far as the Mouth of the River *Darien*: We can ſee above thirty Miles Southward, and have a fine Proſpect of *Golden Iſland*, and the *Iſle of Pines*, Weſtward towards *Portobello*, and Northward towards *Jamaica*. The Hill is about a Mile in height; ſo that we can ſee any Ships before they come within ſome Leagues of the Harbor. We compute our ſelves to be about 50 Leagues North of *Carthagena*, and as much South of *Portobello*. The 4 *Indian* Kings or Captains on this Coaſt viſit us frequently in their Canoes; and the Natives are very kind to us, and ſell us Plantains, Fowls, *&c.* for Toys or old Shifts. A *French-man* who hath married one of the Natives, informs us that the *Spaniards* have Silver and Gold Mines on the *Iſthmus*, which we might

might make our ſelves Maſters of with a 100 Men; ſo that if they commit Hoſtilities upon us, as we hear they threaten to do, it's not unlikely that we may viſit them. We found ſome *French* Refugees in the Country, who are willing to ſettle under us; and having been ſeveral years in theſe Parts, and underſtanding the Language of the Natives, are very uſeful to us. We have ſeen ſome Sand in the Rivers, which looks as if it were mixt with Gold, and in ſome places the Earth ſeems to be very much mixt with it: ſo that it's concluded there's more Gold-duſt here, than in any part of *Guinea*.

The *Indian* Princes or Captains on this Coaſt do ſomewhat reſemble our Heads of Clans in *Scotland*; and by their Converſe at times with the *Spaniards*, and other *European* Nations, affect Chriſtian Names. The firſt of theſe Princes we ſhall name is Capt. *Diego*; he commands from the bottom of the Gulph of *Orba* on this ſide *Caret* Bay, and has 3000 men under him; he has been at war with the *Spaniards* ſeveral years, occaſion'd by an Inſult his People had receiv'd from them, when they came to demand their ſhare in the Mines which they had diſcover'd to the *Spaniards* in their Country, on condition of being Partners with them: but when they came to demand it, the *Spaniards* treated them villanouſly, beat and abus'd them; upon which they attack'd the *Spaniards*, cut off 20 of their men, and 3 Prieſts that belong'd to the Mines.

The

The next is Capt. *Pouſigo.* He is an *Indian* Clergy-man, and Brother-in-law to Capt. *Andreas.* The Peninſula that we poſſeſs, lies betwixt his Territory and that of Capt. *Andreas*, who together with his Brother, commands from *Golden Iſland* to the River *Pinas.* Their Command is greater than that of *Pouſigo*, but not ſo great as that of *Diego.* Theſe Princes are very uſeful to us, becauſe of their Neighbourhood and Conſanguinity to one another.

Capt. *Ambroſio* commands from the River *Pinas* to the *Samballoes :* He is a man of about 60 years of age, but ſtrong and vigorous, well limb'd, and of a ſtern Countenance: he is a mortal Enemy to the *Spaniards*, with whom he hath had a long War: he is eſteemed the braveſt of all the *Indian* Captains. His Son-in-law *Don Pedro* having been taken by the *Spaniards*, and kept by them as a Slave at *Panama*, he can never forget nor forgive it them: This young man is a great Friend to the *French*, who they are made to believe deſign to come and ſettle among them. *Ambroſio* and his Son-in-law preſt us much to come and ſettle in their Dominions, and join with them to make war on the *Spaniards:* We gave them fair Words, and promis'd to come and view their Coaſts, which we accordingly did; and in our way thither, four Leagues Weſtward of our Settlement, we found an excellent Harbour, capable of 10000 Sail; but it can't be defended without many Forts: Here the Privateers us'd

to

to come and careen. Capt. *Ambroſio*'s Houſe lies about a League from the Water-ſide, on the Bank of a River, having 12 leſſer Houſes about it: When we drew near it, he advanced 50 Paces to meet us, being attended by 20 men in white looſe Frocks with Fringes round the bottom, and arm'd with Lances: He ſaluted us kindly, and gave us a Calabaſh of Liquor almoſt like Lambs-wool, made of *Indian* Corn and Potatoes. His Houſe is 90 foot long, 35 broad, and 30 in height, curiouſly thatch'd with Palmetto-Royal, and over that Cotton-leaves. The Floor is of firm Earth like Tarras, very ſmooth and clean. The ſides are compos'd of large Canes, as thick as a Man's Leg. In this Houſe live *Ambroſio* and his Son-in-law *Don Pedro*, with both their Families, conſiſting of about 40 Perſons. We ſaw *Ambroſio*'s Grandmother there, who is 120 years old, and yet was very active in getting things ready for our Intertainment. She has 6 Generations deſcended from her now in the Houſe with her. The People live here to 150 and 160 years of age; but thoſe that converſe much with Europeans, and drink ſtrong drink, don't live ſo long.

From the *Samballoes* to the River of *Conception*, the Country is commanded by one *Corbet*, who is altogether in the *French* Intereſt, he having contracted a Friendſhip with their Privateers 7 years ago, and done them many good Offices. They promiſed to reward him if he

would go to *Petit Guavus*, and in his way thither he was taken by an *Engliſh* Privateer and carried to *Jamaica*, whence the Governor of *Petit Guavus* got him releas'd. He was with *Pointi* at the taking of *Cartagena*, and has a Commiſſion from the *French* to be General of all the *French* and *Indian* Forces on that Coaſt, and to take, ſink, and deſtroy *Spaniards* or any other Enemies. Yet the *French* themſelves, and the ſenſible part of the *Indians*, don't put any confidence in him; and *Ambroſio* who is the braveſt of all thoſe *Indian* Captains, keeps him in awe and within bounds.

Next to *Corbet*, there's another of their Captains call'd *Nicola*, who is ſaid to be a wiſe, brave and good-natur'd Prince, inſomuch that the *Indians* had a mind to have ſet him up inſtead of *Ambroſio*, who is of a rugged military temper: But *Ambroſio*'s Authority and Power is ſo great, that they did not find it practicable. *Nicola* is a mortal Enemy to the *Spaniards*, and can never entertain a good thought of them, ſince the Governour of *Porto Bello* robb'd him of a curious Fuſee that had been preſented him by ſome of the Buccaneers; and being out of order, he ſent it thither to be mended; upon which the Governour taking a liking to it, kept it to himſelf, and ſent *Nicola* another ſorry piece inſtead of it.

Since we came hither, there have been an *Engliſh*, a *Dutch*, and a *French* Ship in our Bay. The *Engliſh* Ship was Capt. *Long* in the *Rupert* Prize;

Prize; he had been in the Gulf of *Orba*, but he himſelf and his Men own'd, that they had not then been aſhore there. He hath ſome way or other diſoblig'd the Captains *Ambroſio* and *Diego*. Tho we treated him with all poſſible Civility, yet we are ſince inform'd that he hath been a days Journy into the Gulf, and endeavour'd to incenſe the *Indians* againſt us, telling them that we were Privateers, and that the King of *England* would not protect us. He left ſome Men in the Bay, who have ſince kill'd ſome *Spaniards*, and came to us for Arms and Ammunition, but we told them we could not grant them any, and that they had done what they could not juſtify. We gave them however what was neceſſary for fitting up a Boat; and as a Reward, they intic'd away the Carpenter and Mate of one of our Ships call'd the *Unicorn*.

The *Dutch* Ship that came hither was afraid of the Spaniſh *Barlavento* Fleet, and put in here for protection, that Fleet having made Prize of another *Dutch* Ship of 32 Guns, and of two *Engliſh* Sloops for trading on thoſe Coaſts.

The *French* Ship that put in here, was that which was order'd to carry back the Church-plate, *&c.* to *Carthagena*, did afterwards bulge on a Rock, and was caſt away in our Harbour. We ſav'd all their lives, and Capt. *Pincarton* our Commodore endanger'd his own life to ſave that of the *French* Captain. He inform'd us that the *French* had four Men of War of 50 Guns each, who thinking we had a Deſign on the

River *Miſſiſſipi*, were gone to the Gulph of *Mexico* in queſt of us. The *French* have been very induſtrious in cultivating their Intereſt, both with the Natives and *Spaniards* in this part of *America*, and doubt not of having a good ſhare in thoſe Countries after the King of *Spain*'s Death. They have got a great Intereſt with Capt. *Ambroſio* by means of his Son-in-law *Don Pedro*, whom they careſs extreamly, and deſign'd to have carried him to *Petit Guavus*, and from thence into *France*, to acquaint the *French* King with the favourable Sentiments the *Indians* have entertain'd of the *French*, and of their deſign to ſurrender themſelves to his Majeſty.

This has been projected by the *French* a long time, but the King of *Spain*'s Indiſpoſition, and their Pretenſions to that Crown, made them refer it; and there's no doubt but our Settlement will quicken thoſe Reſolutions. Capt. *Andreas*, Capt. *Pedro* his Brother, Capt. *Diego*, and Capt. *Pouſigo* our Neighbours, have no manner of correſpondence with the *French*. The latter hath acquainted us that there are ſeveral Gold Mines within two Miles of our Settlement which he hath promis'd to ſhew us; and he hath actually let us ſee ſeveral Samples of fine Gold.

This being the Subſtance of ſeveral Journals that were ſent from our Colony in *Darien* upon their firſt Settlement there, we hope it's ſufficient of it ſelf to ſatisfy our Neighbours in *England* of the Juſtice of our Cauſe, of the equity of our

our Proceedings, of the true Reaſon why the *French* are ſo much our Enemies in this matter, of the greatneſs of the Providence that has put us in poſſeſſion of that Poſt, and that it is *England*'s Intereſt to join with and protect us, by which the Deſigns of the *French* againſt *Europe* in general, and *Great Britain* in particular, may be defeated, and the *Engliſh Weſt India* Trade ſecur'd. But ſince by the Proclamations before-mentioned, which treat us as Rebels and Pirats in *America*, for what we have done according to Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, our Ships may be in danger of being attack'd by other Nations as Pirates, and our Colony diſcountenanc'd and oppos'd on that account by the Natives; there's no reaſon that our Neighbours ſhould think ſtrange if we complain of that unkind uſage, and endeavour to lay before them what may probably be the Conſequences of ſuch Proceedings, without being conſtrued either to threaten or to wiſh that any ſuch things ſhould happen: It being evident that by offering to admit the *Engliſh* as Joint-ſharers in our Trade, we entertain no Sentiments but what are friendly towards that Nation, being ſatisfied that all thoſe who wiſh well to the Proteſtant Religion and true Liberty, are Enemies to any thing that may occaſion a breach of the Union and good underſtanding betwixt us. Yet it muſt be own'd that we have but too great reaſon to complain of the Hardſhips we ſuffer by the Union of the Crowns, which it is in the power of *England*

Land to remedy, by complying with the gracious Propoſals of uniting the Nations, repeated in Parliament by his Majeſty, who like a true Father of his Country, has expos'd himſelf to the greateſt of dangers to procure the Welfare and Peace of his Subjects, by which he has made an abſolute Conqueſt of the Hearts of all good men, who are unanimous to join in the like Prayer for him, that the Iſraelites of old put up for their Kings, viz. *That he may live for ever.*

FINIS.